



# **A MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE**

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**FOR STUDENTS**

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# INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

## A Short History of the study of Indian Literature in Europe

After Alexander's invasion the Greeks to some extent became acquainted with the learning of the Indians. The Arabs in middle ages introduced the knowledge of Indian science to the west. A few European missionaries from the 16th century onwards acquired some familiarity with the ancient language of India. Abraham Roger translated Bhartrihari's poems into Dutch in 1657. But the first impulse to the study of Sanskrit was given by the practical administrative needs of the English Indian possessions. Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of the East India Company, to rule as far as practicable the Hindus in accordance with their own laws & customs, prepared a digest of the Hindu law an English translation whereof was published in 1776. Charles Wilkins at Hastings instigation learnt Sanskrit at Benares & in 1785 published a translation of the Gita (ভগবদ্গীতা) & in 1787 a version of the Hitopadesa (হিতোপদেশ). But the genuine pioneer of Sanskrit studies in the west was Sir William Jones (1746-1794 A D) who

founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 & aroused a keen interest in the study of Indian antiquity by his indefatigable literary activity. In 1789 A. D. he published his translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala ( অতিজ্ঞান শকুন্তল ) which was followed by a translation of the code of Manu ( মনুসংহিতা ). In 1792 A. D. he published Kalidasa's Cycle of seasons ( ঋতু-সংহার ). He was followed by Henry J. Colebrook ( 1765—1837 A. D. ), who first handled the Sanskrit language & literature on scientific principles by publishing many texts, translations & essays dealing with almost every branch of Sanskrit learning. Alexander Hamilton ( 1765—1824 A. D. ), a Sanskrit scholar, who had been kept a prisoner in Paris on account of hostilities between the English & the French, taught Sanskrit to some French scholars & the German poet F. Schlegel who published his essay on the language & wisdom of the Indians in 1808 A. D. This essay produced a revolution in the science of language by leading to the foundation of the science of comparative philology by Franz Bopp in his 'conjugational system of Sanskrit in comparison with that of Greek, Latin, Persian, & German ( 1816 A. D. ). The Vedic study was, however, introduced by F. Rosen by his publication of the first eighth ( প্রথম অষ্টক ) of the R̥gveda in 1838 A. D., when R. Roth ( 1821—95 A. D. ) first published his epoch-making essay on the literature and history of the Veda in 1846, and since then the study of the Vedas has been prosecuted with such zeal that nearly

all the most valuable works of the Vedic period have been made accessible. The detailed investigations of Sanskrit in every department are so numerous that an encyclopaedia covering the whole domain of Indo Aryan antiquity is now being published at Strasburg under the editorship of Dr Kiel Horn of Gottingen.

**Originality of Sanskrit Literature** In spite of touching excellence in most of its branches Sanskrit literature has mainly achieved greatness in religion and philosophy. The Indians are the only division of the Indo European family which has created a great national religion Hinduism (more properly Brahmanism) and a great world religion Buddhism. Moreover the Indians developed independently several systems of philosophy. But the primal importance of ancient Indian literature as a whole largely consists in its originality. Sanskrit is a high language or class language or literary language in contrast to actual language of the people (popular dialect called *Prakrit*). According to Dr Winternitz Sanskrit can never be a dead language but rather a fettered language being checked through the rules of the grammarians.

**Chronology of Indian literature** The Chronology of the history of Indian literature is shrouded in truly terrifying darkness. But there is the evidence of language which proves that the hymns and songs, prayers and magic formulas of the Veda are indisputably the oldest which we possess of Indian literature. It is also certain that Buddhism arose in India about 500 years before Christ and that it presupposes

the whole Vedic literature as practically finished. The Greeks and the Chinese also supply us with some information about the Indians. Nevertheless one must not believe that the historical sense is entirely lacking in the Indians. In India there has been historical writing and in any case we find accurately dated inscriptions in India which would hardly be the case if the Indians had no sense of history at all. The Indians did not keep facts and fiction strictly apart from each other. The *corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* and the *Epigraphia Indica* are our surest authorities on dates of Indian literary history.

**Art of writing & Transmission of Indian literature.** The history of Indian Literature does not begin with written literature, but only with orally transmitted texts which belong to the oldest periods of literary history. The oldest datable inscriptions found up to date are the edicts of king Asoka of the 3rd century B. C. But Palaeographic facts prove that writing was not a new invention as late as the time of Asoka and that it had had a long history behind it.

Antiquarians hold that writing was introduced into India about 800 B. C. by traders coming by way of Mesopotamia. Dr. Buhler has clearly shown that there were two classes of script (लिपि) known in ancient India, the one called Kharoshthi (खरोष्ठी) was employed in the country of Gandhara (E. Afganistan and N. Punjab) from the 4th century B. C. to 200 A. D., and the other called Brahmi (ब्राह्मी) was the

true national writing of India and all later Indian alphabets were descended from it. The Kharoshthi script was written from the right to the left while the Brahmi was written from the left to the right. In the inscriptions of the 3rd century B C two types the northern and the southern, may be distinguished in the Brahmi writing. From the northern type is descended the group of scripts the most important being the Nagari (नागरी) or দেবনাগরী. From the southern variety are descended five types of script the principal amongst them being the characters of the Canarese and the Telugu country.

**Materials of writing** They were plates of stone brass copper, birch bark (বুর্জবক্) palm leaf (তাম্রপত্র) & Sachi leaf (শাচীপত্র). Paper was introduced by the mohomedan conquest. In spite of predilection for oral teaching & learning many centuries ago the Indians began to collect manuscripts & to preserve them in libraries which they called সন্থবতীভাণ্ডাগার (or বগেদেবীভাণ্ডার) & which then existed & even now exist in numbers in monasteries and temples in palaces of princes and even in private houses of the wealthy.

### Indian Languages in their relation to Literature

The terms Indian literature and Sanskrit literature are not identical. The history of Indian literature is the history of a literature which not only stretches across great periods of time and an enormous area but also one which is composed in many



languages. Indian languages belonging to the Indo-European family of languages have passed through three great phases of development, partly consecutive in time and partly also parallel. These are :—

# I. Ancient Indian comprising

1. Ancient high Indian : (a) language of the oldest hymns and mantras, specially of the Sama Veda and the Rigveda. (b) Language of the later hymns and mantras, specially those of the other Vedas, besides of the mantras occurring only in the Brahmanas and the Kalpa sutras (ऋग्वेद, गृह्यसूत्र and श्रौतसूत्र etc). 2 Sanskrit. (a) Ancient Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic prose works (excepting the mantras) and of Panini (b, Epic Sanskrit, the language of the popular national epics. c) Classical Sanskrit, the language of classical Sanskrit literature after Panini

11. Middle Indian languages and dialects comprising—1. Pali, the most important of the middle Indian literary languages. It was the language in which the oldest preserved collection of sacred writings of Buddhism was written. The Buddha talked to the people in Pali, the language of the people. It was then the language of the Magadha province 2. Besides Pali there exists also a Buddhist Sanskrit literature These works, containing Sanskrit Prose, have also poetical gathas ( songs in verses ) composed in a middle Indian dialect called gatha dialect. 3. (a) The Jain Prakrit ( called अर्द्धमागधी or ॲवधी ), the language of older works of the Jain canon (b)

The Jain Maharshtri ( લેવનમીશાસત્રી ), the language in which the commentaries, to the Jain canon and their 200 religious poetical works were written 4 Maharshtri ( મારતીશાસત્રી ) or the language of Maharshttra which was the best form of Prakrit, found in songs and lyric parts of first class Sanskrit dramas 5 The Sauraseni ( સૌરાષ્ટ્રી ) which is the prose of Sanskrit dramas was chiefly spoken by high born women It was the dialect of Mathura 6 Persons of lower classes spoke Magadhi ( મગધી ) in Sanskrit dramas 7 Paisachi ( પૈશાચી ) was spoken in Sanskrit dramas by the members of the lowest grades of society Gunadhya's Brihat Katha was composed in Paisachi dialect 8 Apabhramsa ( અપભ્રંશ ) was used in popular poetry, in Jain romances and occasionally in dramas It stood between the Prakrit and the modern Indian Vernaculars

111 The modern Indian languages and dialects comprising—(a) Bengali (b) Hindi (c) Urdu, &c &c.

**Two periods of Sanskrit Literature** The history of Sanskrit literature falls into two main periods The first is the Vedic period and the second is the classical Sanskrit or post Vedic period

The first period begins with prehistorical time and extends up to the period just preceding Panini In the former half of the Vedic age the character of its literature was creative and poetical, while the centre of culture extended as far as the territory of the Indus and its branches ( ગુપ્તસિન્ધુ પ્રદેશ ) the modern Punjab ( then called Brahmavarta ब्रह्मवर्त ) and in

the latter half, the literature was theologically speculative in matter and prosaic in form, while the centre of culture had shifted to the valley of the Ganges called Bramarshidesa and Madhyadesa ( ব্রহ্মর্ষিদেś and মধ্যদেশ ). Thus in the course of the Vedic age, Aryan civilisation had overspread the whole of Hindusthan ( হিন্দুস্থান ) proper ( i e. অর্ধ্যাবর্ত ).

Classical Sanskrit or post Vedic period began with the final offshoots of Vedic period with Panini and his preceding grammarians and closed with the Mahamédan conquest after 1000 A. D During this epoch, Sanskrit culture was introduced into and overspread the Deccan. In course of these two periods taken together Indian literature attained noteworthy results in nearly every department

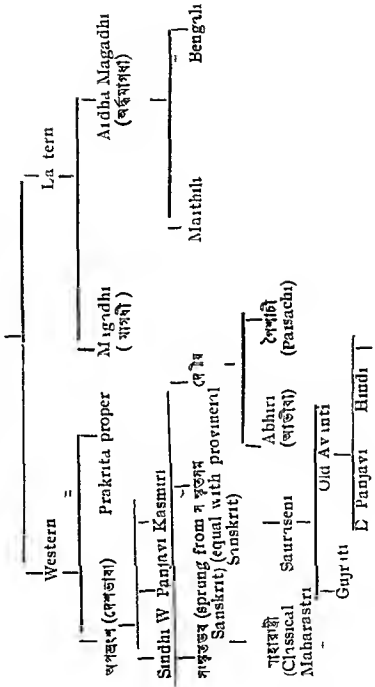
**Sanskrit as a spoken language** Older grammarians from Yaska ( যশ্ক ) long before the 5th century before christ onwards speak of Sanskrit as a Bhaśha ( ভাষা ) or speech in distinction from Vedic. The remarks they make about it point to its being a spoken language. Patanjali ( পতঞ্জলি ) refers to it as used in the world ( লোকে ) and designates the words of his Sanskrit as current in the world Panini himself in about the 5th century B C. gives many rules which have no significance except in connection with living speech. Both Yaska ( যশ্ক ) and Panini ( পাণিনি ) mention the peculiarities of the Easterners and Northerners Katyayana ( কত্যাযন ) refers to the logical divergences and Patanjali specifies words occurring in single districts only. There is thus no doubt

that till the second century B C Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole country called Aryavarta (आर्यवर्त) The Brahmans or the Sistas (शिष्ट) certainly did speak Sanskrit and educated men of other communities spoke it for in the Mahabhashyn (महाभाष्य) we read of a head groom disputing with a grammarian about the etymology of the word (शूत) (charioteer) This agrees with the distribution of the dialects in Sanskrit dramas a distribution no doubt based on a tradition much older than the plays themselves Dr Winternitz says that Sanskrit is not a dead language even today To this very day it is the language in which Indian scholars converse on scientific questions In fact Sanskrit plays the same part in India as Latin in middle ages in Europe or as Hebrew with the Jews

**The Prakrits** The name Prakrit (प्रकृत) denotes its origin from Sanskrit (प्रकृतेः प्रकृतत्वं इति) But authors on dialectics are of opinion that Prakrit means what comes from nature (प्रकृति) at once i.e. what people without special instruction can easily use and understand But according to grammarians and writers on poetics the term more specially denotes a number of distinctly artificial literary dialects which were not vernaculars Sir George Grierson classifies *prakrit* in three great stages (1) *Primary Prakrits* of which the Vedic language and its successor Sanskrit are literary forms (2) *Secondary Prakrits* represented in Pali literature in dramas and in the *apabhraṃsas* (अपभ्रंश) of grammarians (3) The modern

Vernaculars. From Asoka's inscriptions we can deduce the existence of three dialects, that of the east used in the metropolis as lingua franca of the Empire, that of the north west and of the west. The dramas of Aswaghosha of the first century A. D. supply us with the old Ardha magadhi, old Sauraseni and old Magadhi types of the Prakrit dialect. In Jain works we meet with Jain *নাছরাকি* and *শৌরসেনী*. The *বৃহৎকথা* ( *Brihat Katha* ) of Gunadhya was composed in Paisachi Prakrit. of the different types of Prakrit Maharashtra held in pre-eminence by its use in dramas. Sauraseni was markedly more closely akin to Sanskrit than Maharashtra. The *নটশাস্ত্র* ( *Natya sastra* ) of Bharata enumerates other dramatic dialects ( *বিভাবাস* ), such as the *Dakshinatya* ( *দাক্ষিণাত্য* ), *Avanti* ( *আবন্তী* ), *দাক্ষী* ( *Dakshi* ) or *Takki* ( varieties of Sauraseni ) and *Chandali* ( *চাণালী* ), *Sakari* ( *শাকারী* ) which are species of Magadhi. According to Sir G Grierson and Pichel almost all modern Vernaculars of our country have originated from the *Apabhhransa*

Classification of Prākrit  
Prākrit (the oldest being Maṅgala)



## LECTURE 1.

### Kavya Literature.

Sources of the Kavya. We do not, indeed, find an original historian of Sanskrit literature. It might be that the appearance of the great poets of the calibre of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha and others so eclipsed earlier efforts that their works, nay even their names, passed into oblivion. Again the absence of literary remains for centuries before and after the Christian era and foreign invasions, the Greeks, the Parthians, the Sakas and the Yuchchi, so deeply affected north west India that it gave an appearance of reason even to such a scholar as Professor Maxmuller to come to the conclusion that there was a comparative cessation of literary activity in India until the sixth century, which is now totally discredited. Besides the theory of a Prakrit period of Indian literature preceding the Sanskrit period is also to be discarded as it is founded on no evidence of value. The causes of the rise of Sanskrit literature are obvious and there was no need for writers in Prakrit to set an example. In fact the simplicity of the early epic gradually yielded to greater art. The Upanishads show us kings patronizing discussions between rival philosophers and rewarding richly the successful. They were indeed, no less eager to listen to

panegyrics of themselves or their family and bestow guerdon not less lavishly. The gnostic utterances preserving some vedic specimens in the Aitareya Brahmana (ঐতরেয় ব্রাহ্মণ) naturally shared in the cultivation of the lyric and the elaboration of verse reacted on prose style inducing writers to seek to reproduce in that medium some thing of elegance after which poets habitually strove. There was then no breach in literary continuity and in spite of the fact that so much has perished we have indisputable proofs of active cultivation of Sanskrit literature during the period from 200 B C to 200 A. D. The Ramayana the earliest Sanskrit epic, with all later additions and interpolations as we have it affords us an illustration of the process of refinement which style was undergoing. But we can not but realize that even in its original form the poem must have shown a distinct tendency to conscious ornament. The mere theme the blending together of two distinct legends—the court intrigues of Ayodhya and Ramachandra's war on Ravana on account of the rape of Sita, is the work of an artist and the same trait is revealed in the conformity of the language and the delicate perfection of the metre, when compared with the simpler and less polished Mahabharata. Saint Valmiki and those who improved on him (probably 400—200 B C) are clearly the legitimate ancestors of the delicate artistic court epic.

**Epics** Two classes of epics. Sanskrit epic falls into two main classes. They are popular national



epic and artistic ornate court epic The popular national epics comprise (a) Itihasa ( ইতিহাস ), (b) Akhyana ( অখ্যান ), (c) Purana ( পুরাণ ) and (d) Kavya ( কাব্য ) They were composed for sung and recited before the public national assemblies by rhapsodists who might themselves be poets extempore or might sing or recite poems of other poets. The great national epics were the Mahabharata the 18 puranas and the Ramayana. The national epic seems to have been cultivated more in those regions where the worship of Vishnu as the highest deity prevailed. The court epics were composed for and recited in the courts of princes before the courtiers who were erudite scholars. They were the works of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Magha &c Ananda-Vardhana ( আনন্দবর্দ্ধন ) in his Dhvanyaloka ( ধ্বানীলোক ) has contrasted the object of the artistic court epic with that of the popular national epic. The latter according to him is content with narrating what has happened, while the former is essentially dependent on form. The Ramayana, in his opinion, occupies an intermediate place and its formal merits are not slight. The Ramayana is not given to erotic description and its tone is grave and serious. Direct evidence of the production of secular Sanskrit literature before the second century B C is afforded by testimony of the Mahavhashya ( মহাভাষ্য ) of Patanjali. Again from Rajashekhara we know that the great grammarian Panini composed the epic Jambavati Vijaya ( জাম্ববতী বিজয় ) ( Jamvavati Vijaya ) He has been said to be the author of another epic পাতাল বিজয়. Pingala, the earliest writer on

prosody, refers in his सूत्र सूत्र (Sāṅdhas sūtra) to many verses of epic lyric and gnomic descriptions. In short, there was the existence of two streams of movement, the Sanskrit of the Brāhmanical schools as summed up in Pāṇini's grammar and the less formal language of the ruling class and the Brāhman in their entourage as shown in the popular epic.

**The Mahābhārata** In its present form the Mahābhārata consists of about 100 000 slokas (95826 actually found in the Bombay edition but according to Sauti's recitation 96826) and is the longest poem known to literary history. It is a conglomerate of epic and didactic matter divided into 18 books called parvan (पर्वण) with 19th the Hari Vamśa (हरिवंश), as a supplement (शिखण्ड). All these 18 books excepting the 8th and the last three are divided into subordinate books (पर्वणपर्वण), each book being also cut up into chapters (अध्याय).

The full table will show the number of chapters and stanzas in the 18 parvans as Sauti has given them in chapter I of the Adiparvan.

| Names of Parvans | Number of chapters & slokas<br>as recited by Sauti |        |
|------------------|--|--------|
|                  | chap   | slokas |
| 1 Adi Parvan     | 227+7  | 8884   |
| 2 Sabha Parvan   | 73+8   | 2511   |
| 3 Vana Parvan    | 269+45   | 11664  |
| 4 Virata Parvan  | 67+5   | 2067   |
| 5 Udyoga Parvan  | 186+12   | 6694   |
| 6 Bhishma Parvan | 117+5  | 5884   |

|                         |        |       |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| 7. Drona Parvan         | 170+31 | 8907  |
| 8 Karna Parvan          | 69+27  | 4964  |
| 9. Salya Parvan         | 59+6   | 3220  |
| 10. Sauptika Parvan     | 11     | 870   |
| 11. Stri parvan         | 27     | 775   |
| 12. Santi Parvan        | 365    | 14332 |
| 13. Anusasana Parvan    | 168    | 8000  |
| 14 Aswamedha Parvan     | 92     | 3320  |
| 15. Asramavasika Parvan | 39     | 1506  |
| 16, Maushala Parvan     | 8      | 320   |
| 17 Mahaprasthanica Par. | 3      | 320   |
| 18 Swargarohana Parvan  | 6      | 209   |
| 19 Harivamsa ( বিল )    | 3      | 16000 |

Three Stages of development of the Mahabharata : The Mahabharata in its present form is the second amplification of an originally much smaller work. Saint কৃষ্ণদেবপায়ন পারাশর্য্য বাস ( Vyasa ), the author of the original work, taught it to his five pupils, one of whom was saint Vaisampayana ( বৈশম্পায়ন ) The latter saint recited the poem before king Janmejaya ( জনমেজয় ) at the time of the Sarpa Satra ( serpent sacrifice ) performed by him Now, in the Mahabharata there are several questions asked by king Janmenjaya and the saint Vaisampayana gives their suitable replies. These questions and answers could not have formed part of the original epic composed by saint Vyasa We must presume that saint Vaisampayana or some one who listened to the recitation and the dialogue amplified the original work. Then again, this amplified Bharata was recited by Sauti Ugrasravas ( i. e.

Ugrasravas son of Lomaharshana, a Suta by caste) before Saunaka in his twelve years sacrifice and there too questions were asked by Saunaka and answered by Sauti. These could not have formed part of the original work nor of the amplified edition of Vaisampayana. We must then presume that Sauti or some one else who listened to his recitation amplified the original work a second time. We have further the statement that the work had three beginnings. Some believe that the Mahabharata begins with Uparichara others with Astika & whilst others with Manu.   
 মনুদি ভাৰত কোঁচি আত্মকানি তথাপৰে । তথাপৰিঃৱাদ্  
 ২৩৩ বিপ্রা সনাতন অধীশ্বৰে । আদিপৰা । ১ ৫২

**The original work** The original epic was a history and not a didactic work and the name given by saint Vyasa to his history was Jayan (জয়) i.e. triumph. The first verse of invocation contains a mention of this name (বৃত্তোজয়ন উপাধায়ক) We have the same name again in the last Parvan also (জয়ো নামোতিহাসোহয়ম্) Saint Vyasa composed his poem in three years working day and night. It would be natural to expect that the saint Krishna Dwaipayana Parasarya Vyasa would begin his work with an account of himself and the idea that Bhharata really begins with উপাধায়ক (Uparichara) seems very justifiable. In the chapter preceding the 63rd Chapter which begins with স্বাক্ষোপনিষদেনোক্ত or a praise of the Mahabharata and some facts about its composition are given by saint Vaisampayana which clearly shows that these 62 chapters in the Adiparvan are later

additions. This does not, of course, mean that the work subsequent to chapter 62 is in the words of saint Vyasa.

**Second Edition :—**The second edition of the text was that of saint Vaisampayana, Vyasa's own pupil, who was taught the work (ॐ) along with Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila and Vyasa's son Suka Deva. There is a statement in the Bharata itself that each one of these five pupils of the sage published a different edition of the Bharata. But Vaisampayana's version is the only one now preserved to us, though we have one doubtful Aswamedha Parvan (अश्वमेधपर्व) under the name of Jaimini. All the different versions of the Bharata appear to be extant in the days of Aswalayana (अश्वलायन) who has enumerated all these five rishis (seers) as उपनिषद्गुरु or editors of the Bharata. The extent of Vaisampayana's Bharata appears to have been 24000 verses, for there is a stanza in the Maha Bharata that the Bharata Sanhita was composed to that extent Vaisampayana would naturally begin his version with an account of King Janamejaya and the sarpa satra where he recited his poem and thus we have the second beginning assigned to the Mahabharata viz, with the Astikopakhyaṇa Vaisampayana transferred the name from Jaya to Bharata.

**Third Edition** The third edition of the epic was that of Sauti Ugra Sravas, son of Lomaharshana, who recasted and elaborated the work of Vaisampayana in about one hundred thousand stanzas.

( আদিপর্ক 107 ) 'The third beginning of the epic was with the word manu There is of course no stanza beginning with Manu in the Adiparvan but the commentator takes it as identical with Vaisvaswata (বৈবস্বত আদিপর্ক 1) This edition has come down to us nearly in the form which Sauti gave to it The present Maha Bharata contains about one thousand stanzas less than the number given by Sauti (36 836) though additional stanzas and chapters are found here and there Sauti gave the work the name of Mahabharata and converted it from a history to a dharma sastra Bharata and Mahabharata are names separately mentioned by Aswalayana

**Division of the epic** Saint Vyasa's original historical work Jaya (triumph) was divided into parvans and adhyayas but it is impossible to enumerate their exact number Saint Vaisampayana divided his edition of the epic (which he called Bharata) into 100 parvans It was he who added the Harivamsa (হরিবংশ) to the original work Hence the Hari Vamsa is called a খণ্ডপর্ক or supplementary work Sauti adopted a new division for his bulky work ধর্মশাস্ত্র called Mahabharata and divided it into 18 parvans with a nineteenth including the Harivamsa which had already been incorporated into his Bharata by saint Vaisampayana The Gita (ভগবদ্গীতা) too had been incorporated into the Mahabharata long after

**Date of the Mahabharata** The present edition of the Mahabharata can not be placed earlier

than 450 B. c, & later than 300 B. C. The earliest date assigned to the epic Jaya is that fixed by Prof. Modaka who finds that the vernal equinox at the time of the great Kurukshetra war was in Punarvasu ( পুনর্বসু ) and hence about 7000 years must have elapsed since then. Some astronomers following Barahamihira believe that the great war took place in 2604 B. C. But European scholars on the authority of a sloka in the Vishnupurana hold that the great war took place about 1500 B. C. The orthodox Indian opinion, however, is that the war took place in 3101 B. C., calculating on the basis of the generally accepted belief in India that in 1399 A. D. five thousand years had elapsed since the beginning of the Kaliage. The great Kurukshetra war is held amongst the Aryans of India as synchronous with the beginning of the Kaliage.

**Abstract of the Mahabharata.** শ্বেমেন্দ্রব্যান দাস composed Bharata manjari ( ভারত মঞ্জরী ) in the 11th-century in Kashmir and this is the oldest abstract of the Mahabharata.

**Commentators of the Mahabharata.** They are (1) Arjuna Misra ( অর্জুন মিশ্র ), Sarvajna narayana ( সর্বজননায়াগ ) and Nilakantha ( নীলকণ্ঠ )

**Khila Hari Vamsa:** It is concerned with Krishna's family. It contains more than 16000 slokas and is divided into three sections. The first Hari-vamsa Parva describes the history of Krishna's ancestors down to the time of Vishnu's incarnation in him. The second Vishnuparva gives an account of

Krishna's exploits. The third Bhavishya Parva treats of the future corruptions of the Kalinga.

What is the Mahabharata? It is not only an epic and a poem, nor is it one poetic production at all but it is rather a whole literature. Mahabharata means the great narrative of the battle of the Bharatas who are mentioned in the Rigveda as a warlike tribe and in the Brahmanas Bharata son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, is regarded as the ancestor of the Royal race of the Bharatas. The home of the Bharatas was in the country of the upper Ganges and the Jumna. From Kuru, an illustrious descendant of Bharata the land they lived in was called Kuru kshetra while they themselves were called Kauravas. A family feud in the royal house of the Kauravas led to a bloody war of 18 days a truly internecine struggle in which the ancient race of the Kurus was almost entirely ruined. The history of this bloody war of 18 days was told in the epic Jaya (triumph) by saint Vyasa and gradually recasted and enlarged by saint Vaisampayana in Bharata first and then by Sauti Ugrasravas in Mahabharata. Similarly in Homer's Iliad and in the Nibelungen song the tragedy of a terrible war of annihilation forms the actual subject of the heroic poem.

We find traces of epic poetry in vedic literature in the dialogue hymns of the Rigveda as well as in the akhyans itihāsas and Puranas of the Brahmanas. The recital of such narrative poems forming a part of the religious ceremonies at the sacrificial and domes-



tic festivals. There were not only single ballads ( আখ্যান, ঐতিহাস ) but also cycles of ballads. There were professional story-tellers ( ঐতিহাসিক, পৌরাণিক ) in very ancient times. Besides, there was in existence an inexhaustible store of prose and verse narratives আখ্যান, ইতিহাস, পুরাণ and গাথা, forming as it were literary public property which was drawn upon by the Buddhists and the Jains as well as by the epic poets. Songs in praise of men ( গাথা নরাশংসো ) are often mentioned beside the ইতিহাস and the পুরাণ and are the direct precursors of the actual heroic epic itself. The authors, reciters and preservers of heroic poetry were the bards ( usually of the Suta caste ) who generally lived at the royal court and recited or sang their songs at great feasts in order to proclaim the glory of princes. They often went forth into the field of battle in order to be able to sing of the heroic deeds of warriors. There were also travelling singers called Kusilavas ( কুশীলব ) who memorised the songs and publicly sang them to the accompaniment of the lute and circulated the heroic songs among the people. It was the পুরোহিত ( court-priests ) who like the ব্রহ্ম came more in contact with epic poetry. It was this less learned class of priests which later on furnished temple priests at famous holy places. The latest edition of the Mahabharata is a compendium of warlike heroic songs, of pious priestly poetry with dissertations upon philosophy, religion and law and mild ascetic poetry full of edifying wisdom & overflowing love towards man and beast. Thus the Mahabharata is an epic, a work of

poetic art ( কাব্য ) a manual of morality ( নীতিশাস্ত্র ) law ( শাস্তি ) and philosophy ( দর্শন ) supported by the oldest tradition and furnished with incontestable authority In short the ইতিহাস called জয় of saint কৃষ্ণদেবায়ন পারাসর্য্য-বাস has been in course of time first changed to ভারত by saint বৈশম্পায়ন and then into a ধর্মশাস্ত্র by সৌতি উ-এ-বস

**Age and History of the Mrhabharata** J Dahlmann proves that the Mahabharata is one unified work composed by one poet in pre-Buddhistic times both as an epic and a law book Sylvan Levi explains the Mahabharata as a deliberate composition organically and artistically spread around a central fact and inspired by a dominant sentiment which penetrates and permeates it He compares the Mahabharata with the Vinaya ( বিনয় ) the code of discipline of the বুদ্ধসংস্কারিবাধিন্ ( Vinasarsvastidin ) Buddhists and is of opinion that the whole great epic is based on nothing but a code of Kshatriya discipline as practised by the Bhagavatas But according to Dr M Winternitz any one who reads the whole of the Mahabharata is bound to admit that the present day text of the epic contains not only much that is diverse in content but also much that is diverse in value The very opening sections of the Mahabharata themselves give clear indications that the epic had not always its present form and extent The tables of contents of the epic tell us plainly it is not the work of one single author or of one time A Holtzman assumes that an ancient heroic poem of the kauravas existed which was the original Mahabharata that it under-

went a revision with a tendency in favour of the Pandavas and that it was then on several consecutive occasions—first by the Buddhists, then by the Brahmans—revised with a tendency. The second Purana-like revision must have taken place about 900–1100 A.D., after which followed, a few centuries later, the definite establishment and completion of the text.

**Summary of the gradual growth of the contents of the Mahabharata:** Single myths, legends and poems in the Mahabharata are Vedic. The historical epic Jaya and Bharata and the *বংশাবলী* *মহাভারত* had no existence in the Vedic period. Moral narratives and sayings in the *মহাভারত* belong to ascetic poetry. An epic *মহাভারত* existed bet 6th and 4th centuries B.C., but not known in the land of Buddhism. Bet 4th century Bc and 4th century A.D., the epic Mahabharata transformed into the present *বংশাবলী* *মহাভারত* one date of the *মহাভারত* does not exist, the date of every part is to be ascertained on its own account.

**The Puranas and their position in Indian literature:** Closely connected with the Mahabharata is a distinct class of eighteen epic works, didactic in character and sectarian in purpose, going by the name of Purana, all attributed to saint Vyasa. The term *পুরাণ*, in the Brahmanas, denotes cosmogonic enquiries generally and in the Mahabharata it means ancient legendary lore, implying didactic as well as narrative matter and pointing to an old collection.

of epic stories. It has been very clearly defined in the Visbaupurana that সর্গশ্চ প্রতিসর্গশ্চ বঙ্গো নবহর গিচা বংশোচ্চরিতকৈব প্ৰাণং পঞ্চনবম্ । The Puranas are 18 in number. Formerly they formed one of the 14 different branches of study for one's accomplishment as a scholar (অত্রাণি বেদান্তং যো নোনাশান্যায়বিতর । পুরাণং স্বৰ্গশ্চ চ বিদ্য য়েতান্চুদন । ) But we do not get them all in their original form now. The modern redactions of the Puranas all appear to be later than the Mahabharata. Some of them in giving the history Magadha come down to Chandragupta and Asoka nay as far as the Andhra monarchs who ruled in the Deccan for some centuries after Christ.

### Orthodox classification of the Puranas

(1) Those advocating the superiority of Brahman (the creator) of the quality of passion (i.e. রস ) leading to the attainment of heaven

- (a) Brahmarada Purana ( ব্রহ্মাও পুরাণ )
- (b) Brahma Vaibarta Purana ( ব্রহ্ম বৈবৰ্ত্ত পুরাণ )
- (c) Markandeya Purana ( মার্কণ্ডেয় পুরাণ )
- (d) Bhavishya Purana ( ভবিষ্য পুরাণ )
- (e) Vamana Purana ( বামন পুরাণ )
- (f) Brahma Purana ( ব্রহ্ম পুরাণ ) or Adipurana (i.e. the first Purana )

(2) Those advocating the superiority of Vishnu (the preserver) and of the quality of goodness (i.e. গুণ ) leading to salvation —

- (a) Vishnu Purana ( বিষ্ণু পুরাণ )
- (b) Naradiya Purana ( নারদীয় পুরাণ )
- (c) Bhagavata Purana ( ভাগবত পুরাণ )

(d) Garuda Purana ( ଗରୁଡ଼ ପୁରାଣ )

(e) Padma Purana ( ପଦ୍ମ ପୁରାଣ )

(f) Varaha Purana ( ବରହ ପୁରାଣ )

(3) Those advocating the superiority of Siva (the destroyer) of the quality of darkness (ଈଶ୍ଵର) leading to death.

(a) Matsya Purana ( ମତ୍ସ୍ୟ ପୁରାଣ )

(b) Kurma Purana ( କୁରୁମ ପୁରାଣ )

(c) Linga Purana ( ଲିଙ୍ଗ ପୁରାଣ )

(d) Vayu Purana ( ବାୟୁ ପୁରାଣ ) or Siva Purana ( ଶିବ ପୁରାଣ )

(e) Skanda Purana ( ଶକ୍ତ ପୁରାଣ )

(f) Agni Purana ( ଅଗ୍ନି ପୁରାଣ )

The Puranas are said to consist of 400,000 slokas in all. The above orthodox classification of the Puranas is quite arbitrary. The Garuda and the Agni Puranas practically constitute abstracts of the Mahabharata and Harivamsa. The Vayu Purana coincides in part with the Mahabharata, but it is more closely connected with the Harivamsa. The Matsya Purana is also intimately connected with the same. The ଈଶ୍ଵର ପୁରାଣ is the least sectarian of the Puranas and the Vishnu Purana most closely corresponds to the definition of the Puranas. In fact, with the growth of sectarianism, the Puranas expanded according to the cult they advocated.

Besides the 18 Puranas, there is also an equal number of Upa-Puranas ( ଉପପୁରାଣ ) or secondary Puranas, in which the epic matter has become entirely subordinate to the ritual elements.

**Survey of Purana literature** —The Puranas belong to the Religious literature. Indeed the Mahabharata for the greater part and the Harivamsa almost entirely are nothing other than Puranas and even the later books and sections of the Ramayana partake of the character of Puranas. The Puranas indeed reach back to great antiquity and are rooted in Vedic literature. The word Purana originally meant पुराणम् आख्यानम् (old narrative). It is found in connection with itihasa ( इतिहास ) in Brahmanas and Upanishads. In Atharva Veda beside the four Vedas the Purana is also enumerated. According to Gautama Dharmī Sutra the king is to take as his authorities on the administration of justice the Vedas the law books the Vedangas and the Puranas. The Puranas we have now are only recasts of older works of the same species viz of works of religious didactic contents in which were collected ancient traditions of creation deeds of the Gods heroes and saints and ancient ancestors of human race the beginnings of famous royal families and so on. The last edition of the Mahabharata not only calls itself a purana but also begins exactly as the Purana texts usually begin, Ugrasravas, son of the santa Lomaharshana, appearing as narrator. According to Dr Winternitz it cannot be that all the Puranas originated in a single original Purana as assumed by Pargiter and others.

The five characteristics ( पञ्चलक्षण ) of the Puranas viz (1) creation ( सर्ग ) (2) recreation or the periodical

annihilation and renewal of the worlds ( প্রতিদর্শ ) (3) genealogy or genealogy of the gods and sages ( বংশ ), (4) The Manu-periods of time or the great periods, each of which has a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race ( মনুসম্ভাবিকা ) and (5) history of the dynasties or the early and later dynasties whose origin is traced back to the sun (i.e. the solar dynasty) and the Moon (i.e. lunar dynasty) ( বংশাবলি ) form only partly the contents of the Puranas handed down to us, some of them even containing much more than what is included in the five characteristics, while others scarcely touching upon these subjects, but dealing with different things. Sectarianism or devotion to the cult of some god or other of Brahman, Vishnu or Siva, is specially significant of almost all the Puranas we have now. In most of them there are also considerable sections on the rights and duties of the castes and of the asramas, on the general Brahmanical rites &c. The Puranas are ascribed to saint Vyasa who is said to have lived in the beginning of the Kaliyuga ( কলিযুগ ) contemporaneously with the heroes of the Kurukshetra war. In several of the Puranas, however, the royal dynasties of the past are followed by lists of the kings of the future in the form of prophecies. In the list of the future kings we find mention of the dynasties of Sisunagas ( শিশুনাগ ), Nandas, Mauryas ( মৌর্য ), Sungas, Andhras and Guptas which are well known in history. Amongst the Sisunagas are Bimbisara and Ajata Satru who were contemporaries of Mahavira.

(the founder of Jainism) and Gautam Buddha (the founder of Buddhism) 6th to 5th century B C , and with the Maurya monarch Chandragupta who came to the throne in 322 B.C. we emerge into clear daylight of Indian history. According to V. A. Smith the Vishnupurana is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty, the Matsya purana as regards the Andhra dynasty and the Vayu purana as regards the Gupta monarch Chandragupta I. At the end of the list of future kings these puranas enumerate series of dynasties of low and barbarian descent (Sudras and Mlecchhas) such as the Abhiras the Gardabhas the Sakas the Yavanas the Tusharas the Hunas &c. All these lead us to conclude that the Puranas came into being before the 7th century A. D., for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers such as Harsha occur in the list of kings. The Buddhist Mahayana text Lalita vistara (ललितविस्तर) not only calls itself a purana but really it has much in common with the Puranas. The मत्स्यपुराण the ब्राह्मण and even some passages of the 7th century remind us of the sectarian Puranas. The 8th century Jains also composed puranas from the 7th century onwards. The opinion of western scholars that our Puranas belong to the latest productions of Sanskrit literature is quite untenable for the poet Bhojabhatta (about 625 A. D.) the Mimamsa philosopher Kumarila Bhatta (about 750 A. D.) and Saikarabhatta (9th century) speak of the Puranas as old sources of sacred law. The Upapuranas are no



doubt works originated in the last thousand years. The erroneous opinion about the age of the Puranas may easily be removed by referring to their sectarianism in vaishnavism, Saivism and Brahmadaitva which go back to pre christian and perhaps to pre-Buddhistic times.

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## TANTRA LITERATURE.

( *Sanhita, Agama, & Nigama.* )

The tantra ( তন্ত্র ) or the cult of the Saktis in the form of dialogue between Lord Siva and the goddess Parvati and occasional use of mystic syllables and formulas and prayers ( মন্ত্র ), diagrams ( ব্ৰহ্ম ), special position of the fingers and movements of the hands ( মূর্ত্তি ) and placing the fingers and palm of the right hand on various parts of the body at the time of recitation of the mantras ( মন্ত্র ) has been of high influence in Bengal, Assam and Nepal generally for a long time. The tantras appear to us in the forms of agama ( আগম ), nigama ( নিগম ) or Sanhita ( সংহিতা ). They are not positively hostile to the Veda, but they tell us plainly that the precepts of the Veda being too difficult for the Kali age an easier cult and an easier doctrine have been revealed in them. Again the tantras are accessible not only to the twice born.

( ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य, शूद्र ) are the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas ) alone but to Sudras and women as well. Again they contain secret doctrines which can only be obtained from the guru ( गुरु ) after a ceremonial initiation ( दीक्षा ) and which cannot be communicated to any person who is not initiated. A complete tantra ( तन्त्र ) consists of four parts viz knowledge ( ज्ञान ) meditation and concentration ( योग ), action ( क्रिया ) and conduct consisting of rites and festivals ( रीति ). The tantras are generally in the form of dialogues between Lord Siva and Parvati. They are called Agamas ( अगम ) when the goddess Parvati asks questions as a pupil and Lord Siva replies like the teacher and when the goddess is the teacher and answers Lord Siva's questions they are called ( निगम ) Nigamas. The Mahanirvan tantra ( महानिर्वाण तन्त्र ) is the best of all the agamas. The final goal is moksha or mahanirvana or final salvation. The path of salvation can only be found through the tantras. For the Veda Smriti the purana and the itihasa were the sacred books of the golden ( सुवर्ण ) silver ( रजत ) and copper ( ताम्र ) eras ( युग ) of world's existence whereas the tantra was revealed by Lord Siva for the welfare of humanity for the iron age ( कलि युग ). The puranas maintain a connection with epic poetry and are a repository of Indian legend poetry while the tantras bear the stamp of purely theological works teaching the technicalities of the cult of the sects together with their metaphysical and mystic principles. In short the samhitas may fairly be called the sacred books of the Vaishna

vas, the Agamas those of the Saivas and the nigamas those of the Saktas. The word tantra is generally used to mean the three. It was Sir John Woodroffe, under the name of Arthur Avalon, who by a series of essays and publications of the most important tantra-texts has enabled us to form a just judgment of its religion and literature. The agamas belong to the Saivas and they are 28 in number. The Sanhitas belong to the Vishnuite Pancharatra sect. There are 108 Pancharatra Sanhitas enumerated in the list. one of the earlier of these Sanhitas is the Iswara-Sanhita quoted by Ramanuja's preceptor Yamuna-charya who died in about 1040 A. D. Ramanuja himself quotes the Paushkara, Parama and Sattwata Sanhitas. Narada Pancharatra with the Brihad Brahma Sanhita and Gnanamritasara (জ্ঞানামৃতসার) Sanhita is of later date. The tantras had their original home in Bengal whence they spread throughout Assam and Nepal and even beyond India to Tibet and China through the agency of Buddhism. The মাহাত্ম্যসংগ্রহ is the most popular treatise on Saktism. The final goal of all Indian sects and systems of religion is moksha or salvation i. e. becoming one with the deity in maha-nirvana, the great extinction. The perfect saint (the কৈল ) who sees everything in the Brahman and the Brahman in everything, attains this state even in this life and is released though living ( জীবমুক্ত ) The path of salvation can be found through the tantras for the Vedas, the smritis, the Puranas and the itihisas were the sacred works of bygone ages of

the world's existence and the tantras were revealed by Siva for the welfare of humanity for the kali age. The Mahanirvana tantra also teaches a philosophy not different from the orthodox systems of the Vedanta and the Sankhya. The puranas nor the tantras make enjoyable reading as they are works of inferior writers and are often written in barbarous and ungrammatical Sanskrit. But they cannot be priced by in value for the writings are the spiritual food of millions of Indians.

**The Ramayana** Both a popular Epic and an ornate poem. In its present form the Ramayana consists of about 24000 slokas and is divided into seven books ( *skandha* ). The Kashmiri poet Kshemendra Vyasa ( *11th century* ) made a poetical abridgement of the Ramayana called *Ramayana katha manjari* ( *11th century* ) in the 11th century. Bhojaraja ( *12th century* ) of Dhara composed another epitome called *Champu Ramayana* ( *12th century* ) about the same time. The Ramayana differs from the Mahabharata in more respects than one. It is much shorter and of much greater uniformity. While the Mahabharata in its present form can scarcely be called an actual epic, the Ramayana even in the form in which we have it is still a fairly unified heroic poem. The authorship of the Ramayana is attributed to saint Valmiki and we cannot have any reason to doubt that a poet of this name really lived and first shaped the ballads, which were scattered in the mouths of the bards, into the form of a unified poem. Saint Valmiki is called the

first kavi (i. e. first author of artificial ornate poetry), and the Ramayana is called the first artistic ornate poem (अतिरिक्त). Indeed we find the first beginning of greater attachment to the forms than to the matter and contents and the use of figures of speech and other peculiarities of the classical ornate poetry in the Ramayana. While we find in the Mahabharata a mixture of popular, national epic and theological didactic poetry (शक्ति), the Ramayana is a work that is both a popular, national epic and an artistical classical ornate poem. In fact it is a true, popular epic like the Mahabharata, as it is, like the Mahabharata, the property of the whole Indian people. Rama-chandra, the hero of the Ramayana was later made into an incarnation of the God Vishnu. It is the very popularity of the Ramayana, like that of the Mahabharata, which was a high reason of its appearing to us in the present form of different interpolations.

**Valmiki's original and interpolations:** Valmiki's Ramayana originally consisted of five books (II—VI). Book VII (उद्भयकाण्ड) was undoubtedly added later to the work. It has also been recognised that the whole of book I (आदिकाण्ड) can not have belonged to the original work of saint Valmiki. Not only there are numerous internal contradictions in the book, but the language and style, too, stand out as inferior to those of books II—VI. Moreover, in the genuine parts of the poem, there is never any reference to the events in Book I, in fact there are details in this book

which directly contradict the statements of Inter books Only in books I and VII is Ramachandra considered as a divine being an incarnation of Vishnu In books II—VI, apart from a few passages which are interpolated (such as the marriage of Lakshmana &c ) he is always only a mortal hero where mythology enters into the genuine parts of the poem it is not Vishnu but Indra who as in the Veda is regarded as the highest god It is characteristic of books I and VII that the thread of the narrative is frequently interrupted There are only very few passages in books II—VI (e g at the beginning of book III) where this kind of interruption occurs also The Ramayana was orally transmitted for a long time through centuries in the circles of travelling singers or minstrels like the brothers Kusa and Lava who regarded the epic as their own property, with which they took every kind of liberty The Ramayana like the Mahabharata received a more or less definite form when it was written down There are now three different recensions of the Ramayana They are the Bombay recension the Bengal recension and the North western recension But none of these recensions gives us an original text of the Ramayana There is a poetical abstract of the Ramayana in the Bana parva (वनपर्व) of the Mahabharata which is quite unaware of the Uttara Kanda (उत्तरकाण्ड), says nothing of Sita's exile or Lakshmana's marriage Besides the current edition of the Ramayana begins with an account of saint

Narada's version of Ramachandra's life and doings which supplied saint Valmiki with all the materials of his poem. Narada's account tells us plainly that the Ikshwaku-monarch Ramachandra was contemporary of saint Valmiki and in it there is no mention of Lakshmana's marriage, nor of Sita's exile. The exaggerated accounts of the different interpolations are not found there.

**Origin of the Ramayana.** The Ramayana arose in Kosala, the country ruled by the Ikshwakus ( ऐक्ष्वकु ) in Ayodhya ( अयोध्या ) The hermitage of the poet also lay on the bank of the Tamasa (Tons) a small tributary of the Ganges. From canto I of the adikanda we distinctly know that saint Valmiki, the poet, was very eager to be acquainted with the history of an ideal monarch to be able to compose a poem and that he was told of the Ikshwaku monarch, Ramachandra, his contemporary sovereign of Ayodhya, by saint Narada who was then his guest. Then he composed the Ramayana from the materials supplied by the sage. The poem was recited by his pupils Kusa and Lava who sang them every where and before his majesty Ramachandra himself. It was the first epic after the Vedas.

**The age of the Ramayana.** The Ramayana even in its present form is older than the Mahabharata. The Ramayana being so much shorter, required a shorter time for its gradual growth than the Mahabharata. A few scholars have declared the Ramayana to be the earlier of the two epics, because :

the burning of widows does not occur in it whilst it is mentioned in the Mahabharata Jacobi says that the Mahabharata only became an epic under the influence of the poetic art of Valmiki. The battle scenes of the Mahabharata read quite differently from those described in the Ramayana. Those in the Mahabharata give the impression that the poet belonged to a rough race of warriors and had himself seen bloody battle fields while those in the Ramayana sound rather as though a story teller is relating battles of which his only source of information is the reports he has heard. There is not that embittered hatred that fierce resentment between Ramachandra and Ravana Lakshmann and Indrajit as in the Mahabharata when we read of the battles bet Arjuna and Karna or Bhima and Duryodhan. Sita of the Ramayana when stolen, abducted and persecuted by Ravana or when rejected by Ramachandra always maintains a certain calmness and meekness in her accusations and lamentations, and in her speeches there is not a trace of the wild passion which we so often find in Draupadi of the Mahabharata. Kunti and Gandhari too are true hero-mothers of a warlike race while Kausalya and Kaikeyi can rather be compared with the stereotyped queens of classical Dramas. This shows that the Mahabharata belongs to a ruder more warlike age while the Ramayana shows traces of a more refined civilisation. The Mahabharata belongs to the west of India and the Ramayana to the East.



Dr. Winternitz concludes that the original Ramayana was composed by saint Valmiki on the basis of ancient ballads, that there can be no question of Greek influence in the Rāmāyana and that the genuine Ramayana betrays no acquaintance with the Greeks. There are no obvious traces of Buddhism to be seen in the Ramayana and that the ancient Buddhist texts of the Tripitaka betray no knowledge of the Ramayana, but contain traces of ballads in which the Ramalegend was sung. The original Ramayana was completed at a time when the epic kernel of the Mahabharata has not yet been thought of. The Ramayana must have been generally known as an old work long before the Mahabharata assumed a coherent shape. The legend of Rama is found in a somewhat altered form in one of the Pali birth-stories (দশরথ জাতক). This version confines itself to the first part of Rama's adventures, his sojourn in the forest. There is an indication that the expedition to Lanka was also known to the author of the Jataka. Again the political conditions described in the Ramayana indicate the patriarchal rule of kings possessing only a small territory and never point to the existence of more complex states as in the Mahabharata.

**Two parts of Ramayana.** The first part describes the events in the court of king Dasaratha at Ayodhya and their consequences. If the epic says Prof. Macdonnel, ended with the return of Rama's brother Bharata to the capital after the old king's death it might pass for a historical saga. The second part of

( i e the expedition to Lanka ) according to him being based on a foundation of myths is full of the marvellous and the fantastic

Unfortunately no oriental scholar will agree with Prof Macdonnel in his queer theory With all his erndition this view is very unhappy Those whome he calls monsters and goblins are the aborigines of the soil who had been driven to the hills and the forests of the Deccan by gradual diffusion of Aryan civilisation The Vedrs too speak of the aborigines as monkeys bears tigers &c from their mode of living in the caves and hollows of trees Prof Mac also makes this mistake from his inability in identifying Lanka with some modern island in the Indian ocean Infact if we trace Ramachandra's way to Lanka we find it located somewhere near modern Australia The Lanka expedition was not a myth Ravana the lord of Lanka was born of an Aryan father ( sage विश्वामित्र son of भृगु ) one of the ancient patriarchs) and a non Aryan mother (देवकी or कैकसी) He was educated as a Brahman but he inherited the evil propensities of his mother's relatives He had two brothers and many sons amongst whom Meghanada or Indrajit was the eldest He conquered as far as the divine regions of the Meru ( Altai regions ) He carried away Sita wife of Ramachandra on an aeroplane which he had carried off from his step brother Kubera lord of the Yaksha tribes Rama chandra with the help of the non aryan people of the Kishkindha valley who were then called Banaras and

Rikshas, proceeded as far as the sea-coast and by erection of a bridge reached Lanka, killed Ravana and his entire family through the help of Ravana's youngest brother Vibhishana and rescued Sita. He came to Ayodhya on the aerial car called Pushpaka with which he was supplied by Vibhishana who was crowned king of Lanka after the destruction of his brothers and nephews. Amongst the allies of Ramachandra, Sugriva, Hanuman, Angada, Nala, and Jambhavan, were of mixed origin like Ravana. There can not be anything incredible in the account. Researches show that the cape kamarin was not the southernmost point of India, but there was a long promontory running northeast from the southernmost point of India which enabled Ramachandra and his party to advance as far as the seacoast just opposite the gold-bound island of Lanka. He crossed the sea and reached Lanka on erection of a bridge by his non-aryan engineer Nala.

**Views of different European scholars on the second part of the Ramayana :** (1) Prof. Lassen holds that it was intended to represent allegorically the first attempt of the Aryans to conquer the south. (2) Dr Weber says that the Ramayana was meant to account for the spread of Aryan culture to the south and Ceylon. But, says Prof Mac. this form of the allegorical theory lacks any confirmation from the statement of the epic itself, for Rama's expedition is nowhere represented as producing any change or improvement in the civilisation of the

south The poet appears to know nothing about the Deccan beyond the fact that Brahman hermitages are to be found there otherwise it is a region of the monsters and fabulous beings Hence the Professor says that there is much more probability in the opinion of Jacobi that the Ramayana contains no allegory at all but it is based on an Indian mythology The foundation of Part II says the Professor would thus be a celestial myth of the Veda transformed into a narration of earthly adventures Sita is Vedic Saryani personified who is invoked in the Rigveda as a goddess In ऋग्वेद she appears again as a genius of the ploughed field and is called wife of Indra or अर्जुना the rain god Rama is Indra and his conflict with Ravana the chief of the demons would represent the Indra Vritra myth of the Rigveda This is confirmed by the name of Ravana's son being Indrajit or Indra Satru an epithet applied to Vritra Ravana's most notorious feat the rape of Sita has its prototype in the stealing of the cows recovered by Indra Hanumata ( गङ्गाधर ) the foremost of Rama's allies in the recovery of Sita is described as flying 100 leagues through the air to find Sita It is a reminiscence of Indra's alliance with the maruts in his conflict with Vritra and Indra's ambassador Sarama probably refers to the द्रुपदो गङ्गा who consoles Sita in her captivity in the Asoka broika at Lanka

## LECTURE 2.

### Kavya, or ornate artistical court epic.

Professor Maxmuller's theory of renaissance of Sanskrit — The Indians, on account of the incursions of the Sakas and other foreigners, ceased from literary activity during the first two centuries A. D. In fact Sanskrit remained asleep as it were for about six centuries from the rise of Buddhism in the 4th century B C to the establishment of the Gupta Empire in the 3rd century A D In the middle of the 6th century A.D, the reign of King Vikramaditya of Ujjain, with whom tradition connected the names of Kalidasa (1) and other distinguished authors, was the golden age of Indian court-Poetry This renaissance theory of Prof Maxmuller is based on Dr. Fergusson's ingenious chronological hypothesis that a supposed King Vikramaditya of Ujjain having expelled the Scythians from India, in commemoration of his victory, founded the Vikrama era in 544 A D., dating its commencement back 600 years to 57 B C.

Refutation of the Renaissance theory Epi-

(1) ধনু গরিঃ সপঞ্চকোহমরনিংহশঙ্কু-বেতাণভট্ট-ঘটকপ্পর-

কালিদাসাঃ ।

খ্যাভো বরাহমিহিরো নৃপতেঃ সভায়াং রত্নানি বৈ বরকুচি-

নব বিক্রমস্ত ॥

জ্যোতির্বিদ্যাপ্রণয় attributed to Kalidasa.

graphical researches of Dr Fleet have destroyed Dr Fergusson's hypothesis. From these researches it results that the Vikrama era of 57 B C ( called Samvat era ) far from having been founded in 544 A D had already been in use for more than a century previously under the name of Malava era (मालवार्दिशब्द) . It further appears that no Sakas ( Scythians ) could have been driven out of western India in the middle of the sixth century A D for that country had already been conquered by the Guptas more than a hundred years ago. Again it turns out that though other foreign conquerors the Hunas were actually expelled from western India in the first half of the 6th century and that they were driven out not by (विश्वनाथ) but by a king of the name of यशोधर्मविश्ववर्द्धन ( Yashodharma Vishnu Vardhana ) . Thus the great king Vikramaditya vanishes from the historical ground of the sixth century into the realm of myth.

Again from the Maha Bhashya of Patanjali and the हर्ष चरित of Pingala we know that Kavya ( काव्य ) flourished in their days and must have been developed before the beginning of the christian era. Moreover the great epic ( महाकाव्य ) Buddhacharita ( बुद्धचरित ) of Asvaghosha who was contemporary of King Kanishka ( कनिष्क ) of the first century A. D. corroborates that Sanskrit was not asleep but quite awake then. The श्रुति ( panegyrics ) of the Gupta period are of great importance here — (a) The poet Harisena's ( हरिसेन ) panegyric on his royal patron Samundra Gupta ( समुद्रगुप्त ) inscribed on a pillar at

Allahabad in the second half of the 4th century shows a mastery of style rivalling that of Kalidasa and Dandin. (b) The minister Virasena's (বীরসেন) inscription on his royal master Chandra Gupta II shows unmistakably that the Vaidarbhi (বৈদভীরাতি) style of composition was fully developed by 300 A. D, (c) Vatsa Bhatti (ব-শক্তি) wrote an inscription in 473 AD in commemoration of a temple consecrated to the Sun at Dasapura (mod Mandassar) A careful study of this inscription clearly shows that a rich Kavya (কাব্য) literature existed in the 5th century A.D (d) Two important prose inscriptions, (in Kavya form) one from Girnar under the মহাক্তপ ব্রহ্মদত্ত and the other from Nasik, both belonging to the second century A D, show that a Prose Kavya literary style existed so far back as 200 A D All these evidences not only prove that the Sanskrit Kavya literature flourished before the christian era but show incontrovertibly that it did not go to sleep but continued to be cultivated throughout the succeeding centuries But it must be admitted that the real history of the Kavya or artistic ornate court epic does not begin till the first half of the 7th century A. D with the reign of king Harsha Vardhana of Sthaneswar (হর্ষবর্ধন) and Kanyakubja (605—648 A D), for the date of no Kavya before this land mark has as yet been fixed with certainty

**Principal artistic ornate court poets and a treatise on Ars Amoris. 1.** কামসূত্র (Kamasutra) of Vatsyayana (বাস্যায়ন) is of uncertain date,

probably older than Kalidasa. In Vatsyayana we have a vivid conception of the Indian parallel to the man about town (नगदूत) whose existence was due to the growing elaboration of Indian life and whose interest the poet was anxious to propitiate. We find in it how the denizen of the town, (नगदूत) compelled by adverse fortune to vegetate in the country, seeks to find congenial society with which to continue the pleasures of his city life. His home boasts all the luxury of the age, soft couches, a summer house in a park and cats strewn with flowers and swings to amuse the ladies who share and lend zest to his leisure moments. Much of his time is devoted to toilet: he must bathe in scented perfumed garlanded and tetch the cage birds to speak or enjoy the brutal spectacle of ram or cock fights or in company of ladies of the demimonde he may visit the parks outside the town. There are concerts to be attended, ballets and theatrical spectacles to be visited. He has a lute beside him so that he may make music when he will and a book to read at leisure. Bonn-companions and hangers on of various ranks the *विदेह-शिल्पि-वर्ग* and *विदूषक* are essential to his happiness and drinking parties are not unknown but the ideal for him is mere rude licence, with aims at elegance moderation and a measure of dignity. He speaks the vernacular blended with Sanskrit indicating his fine culture. Hetairai are essential but they must be accomplished in art and learning with good manners. Poets of repute with reward of skill



in panegyric and high poems are necessary in the royal court. In fact it was the duty of the king to bridge the gulf between wealth and poetic talent and of the poet to save his patron from the night of oblivion with his death. At royal courts poets vied in eager rivalry with one another. Monarchs, too, liked to claim renown for skill in poetry and dramatic art. We find the Gupta emperor, Samudra Gupta, strove for renown as a man of letters, the king Harsha, not only patronised Banabhatta, but claimed the authorship of dramas and poems, king Bhoja of Dhara, four centuries later, was more fortunate in the production of a large variety of his works. In 12th century, Lakshmana sen, the last king of Bengal, though not himself a poet, revived the glory of king Harsha's patronage to poets by being the patron of the famous Jayadeva, Umapatidhara, Dhoi, Govardhana &c. To a king, Hala or Sata Vahana, is ascribed the anthology of Maharashtra verses called Sapta Sati and Vakpatiraja wrote his Prakrit epic Gauda vaha (গৌড়বাহ) for king Yasovarman of Kanauj, thus assuring him an immortality to survive his defeat at the hands of king Lalitaditya of Kashmere. The kings of kashmir often distinguished themselves by generosity to their laureates (কবিরাজ) and to such enlightened activity we owe Somadeva's কথামবিসংগর. It was the patronage of king Kanishka (কনিষ্ক) which produced the great work of the court-epic, the 'Buddha charita of poet Aswaghosha. Aswaghosha was famous both as a poet and a

philosopher. He was originally a Brahman and later to the 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪𑖩𑖪 school of Buddhism and afterwards became one of the fore runners of the Mahayana school. The name of his mother was 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 and he was originally an inhabitant of Salleta.

His works — (1) Vajra Suchi ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) consisting of an able and bitter attack on Brahmanical caste system is ascribed to him. (2) Gandistotra gatha ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) is a book of songs by him attesting his comprehension of the power of music besides it is an effort to describe in words the religious message carried to the hearts of men by the sounds produced by beating a long strip of wood with a short club. (3) of later authorship is his Sutralalita ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) which is preserved in a fragmentary condition in Sanskrit. The tales are written in prose and verse clearly of the classical type. Here the author set out the substance of the Jatalas ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) and 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 (abadnnas). (4) Buddhacharita ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) a great Sanskrit epic originally in 25 cantos as known from Chinese and Tibetan Version was a complete account of the life of the Buddha but we have now only 17 cantos. (5) Sundarānanda ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) — it was the first attempt of the Poet on Sanskrit epic. The topic of the Poem is the legend of the conversion of the reluctant Nanda his half brother by the Buddha a story recounted in the Mahavagga ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) and the Nidanakatha but the poet deals with it in the approved manner of the later Kavya. [ The existence of the Lalita vistara ( 𑖀𑖩𑖦𑖪𑖩𑖪 ) during Asvā Ghōṣa's

time can not be proved, so that it can not be said that it influenced him in the choice of his source of the Saundarananda. Besides the Lalita Vistara is written in the main in Sanskrit prose of the plain type, intermingled with ballads in mixed Sanskrit of the Gatha style ]

### The Avadanas ( অবদানস. ) and later Poetry .

Connected with Aswaghosha is a mysterious Matrigheta ( মাতৃহেত ) of whose numerous works fragments alone exist in Sanskrit. Amongst the avadana texts preserved the oldest is the অবদান শতক ( Abadana Sataka ) which was rendered into Chinese in the first half of the third century A D. Far more interesting as literature is the দিব্যাবদান ( Divyavadana ) a collection of legends like the Avadana Sataka, draws largely on the Vinayapitaka ( বিনয়পিটক ) of the Sarvastivada school of Buddhism. The gem of the collection is the pathetic legend of Kunala, son of Asoka, whose false stepmother succeeds in poisoning his father's mind against him and in having him blinded without his permitting himself either hate or reproach.

আর্যশূর ( Aryasura ) and later Poetry জাতকমালা ( Jatakamala ) in Sanskrit of Kavya style by Aryasura edifies the anecdotes of Buddha's action in former births. It was a popular work amongst the Buddhists. The form of the tales, composed in prose with verses intermingled, is of historical interest. নাগার্জুন ( Nagarjuna ) of the latter part of the second century A.D. was the author of মধ্যমককাবিক ( Madhya-

maka karika ) and Aryadeva ( আৰ্যদেব ) 250 A D, was the author of the Chatuh Satika (চতু শতিকা) which shows considerable power of irony in his onslaught on the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the Ganges to remove sin and acquire merit The শিষ্যলেক্ষ ধৰ্মকাব্য (Sishyalekha Dharma kavya) of Chandragomin is a treatise on instruction in the form of a letter to a pupil dealing with the essential facts of the Buddhist faith It had its predecessor in the সুহৃলেক্ষ (Suhrillekha) of নাগজুন (Nagarjuna) wherein the author summarises the doctrine for a king শিক্সাসমুচ্চয় (Siksha Samuchhaya) of Santideva (শান্তিদেব) gives a sketch of the career of one who seeks to attain Buddhahood as opposed to the narrow Hinayana ideal of sainthood Asanga, brother of Vasubandhu of the 4th century A D composed মহায়ান সুত্রালঙ্কার (Mahayana Sutralankara) in correct but undistinguished Sanskrit utterly overloaded with technicalities On the early development of the Kavya welcome light has been thrown by Prof Luder's edition of the fragments found in central Asia of the বঙ্গ-প্রতিভিকা of Kumaralata (কুমারলাতা) which is the true description of the work hitherto known to us through a Chinese translation as the Sutralankara of Aswaghosha That work was quite different in character from Kumaralata's He was a younger contemporary of Aswaghosha who lived even after the death of King Kanishka

Bharavi (ভারবি) Bhatti (ভট্ট), Kumardasa (কুমারদাস) and Magha (মাঘ) Bharavi (ভারবি)—

ranks second in magnitude amongst the constellations of the Kavya. From external evidence we know that he was older than 634 A.D., when he is mentioned with Kalidasa in the Aihole inscription and is cited in the Kasika Vritti ( কাশিকাবৃত্তি ). He was strongly influenced by Kalidasa while he strongly affected Magha. Banabhatta ignores him. We should therefore place him in the second half of the sixth century A.D., only by less than a century earlier than Panabhatta. We have only his বিক্রান্তদীপ in 18 cantos. It describes the combat of Siva in the guise of a hunter ( ক্রীড়াত ) and Arjuna ( অর্জুন ) the third Pandava and the latter's acquisition of the invincible weapon called Pasupata ( পাশুপত ) through the grace of the former. The plot was taken from the Banaparvan of the Mahabharata. In spite of his high proficiency of epic poetry, Bharavi is guilty of errors of taste from which Kalidasa is free. Bharavi again sets a bad example in his fondness for showing his skill in grammar and he is the beginner of mannerisms in later poets. In metrical form Bharavi is as developed as he is in the use of the figures of speech.

**Bhatti ( ভট্টি )**. He is the author of the epic Ravanavadha ( রাবণ বধ ) more usually called Bhatti-Kavya ( ভট্টিকব্য ) in 22 cantos. He tells us in the 22nd canto of the Bhattikavya that he composed it in Valabhi (in Gujrat) under Sridharasena. Four kings of this name are known, the last of whom breathed his last in 641 A. D. we can not here ascertain which of the four was the patron of the poet, nor

can he be identified with बट्सभट्टि (Batsa Bhatti) of the Mandasar inscription. The name Bhatti is prakritised from ভট্ট and it is not surprising that in tradition he has been identified with ভট্টহরি or made a son or half brother of that famed poet. There is nothing however but the name to support the suggestion. He was imitated by Magha and was known to Bhamaha. Bhatti's poem serves the double purpose of describing Rama's history and of illustrating the rules of Grammar. In the latter aspect the 22 cantos of the ভট্টকাব্য fall into four sections. The first five cantos illustrate miscellaneous rules (প্রকীর্ণকাণ্ড) cantos VI—IX the leading rules (অধিকার-কাণ্ড) X—XIII are given to illustration of the ornaments of poetry (শব্দ-কাণ্ড) and the rest of the poem illustrates the use of the moods and tenses (ভিভক্ত-কাণ্ড). Bhatti's work illustrates well his skill in both poetry and grammar. Bhamaka the Kashmirian poet wrote রাবণাঙ্গুনীষ (Ravanarjunīya) in imitation of Bhatti illustrating a grammatical poem but it was a quite unsuccessful work.

Kumaradasa (কুমারদাস) He was a king of ceylon (517—26 A. D.) and wrote the epic জানকীহারণ (Janakīharana) in 19 cantos. It is an epic of rare merit and describes the incidents of the Ramayana. His majesty was a warm admirer of Kālidāsa and imitated him in many respects in style subject matter and even in the use of figures of speech.

Magha (মাঘ) He is the author of the epic শিউপালবধ in 20 cantos the plot being adapted from

the Banaparvan of the Mahabharata. The poet tells us towards the close of his epic that his father was दत्तक सर्वाश्रय (Dattaka Sarvasraya) and his grand father सुप्रवदेव (Supravadeva) was the minister of a king whose name is variously read as वर्धमात्य (Varmalakhya), Varmalata (वर्मलात) &c. There is an inscription of a king Varmalata of 625 A. D from which we may place Magha in the latter part of the 7th century. This accords satisfactorily with the fact that he is clearly later than Bharavi who, in a sense, was his model, than Bhatti whose सुसुहृद्ः he trumps with किम् सुहृद्ः रतडर्द्धकाः (ever and again they fainted, their husbands gone) and probably than Kumaradasa. He was acquainted with the Kāśika-Vṛtti of Panini's Astadhyayi together with the Nyasakara, referred to in canto II. 112 He knew of the नागानन्द of king Haisha and of the Vasavadatta of Subandhu. The poet Magha was a devoted Vaishnava, while Bharavi was a Saiva. The शिशुपालवध describes how शिशुपाल, lord of Chedi, son of Damaghosha and Srutasravas, was slain by his cousin (भातुलेय) Krishna. The plan and execution of the epic is based on those of the Kiratarjuniya. Bharavi magnifies Siva while Magha magnifies Vishnu.

## THE LESSER EPIC POETS

1. **Wentha or Bhartrimentha** (मेठ or भट्टमेठ), also called Hastipaka, is the author of हयग्रीववध (Haya-griva Vadha) on account of which the Poet was highly rewarded by his royal patron Matrigupta.

He lived towards the latter part of the sixth century

2 **Setu Bandha** (सेतुबन्ध) or **Ravana Vadha** (रवण वध) ascribed to Kalidasa but most probably composed by the royal poet Pravarasena of Kasmere who succeeded Matrigupta. It is an epic in Prākṛit and describes the construction of the bridge over the sea by Ramachandra and the destruction of Ravana. It was really composed by the royal poet to commemorate the building of a bridge of boats across the **विट्वा** (Jhilum) by his majesty himself

3 **Ravanarjuniya** (रवणार्जुनीय) or **Arjuna Ravaniya** (अर्जुनरवणीय) of Bhnumuka (also styled Bhuma Bhuma or Bhumakn) is an epic in 27 cantos and tells the tale of the strife between Kartavirya Arjuna and Ravana and illustrates rules of grammar. But it falls far below the Bhatti Kavya it imitates

4 **Kavirahasya** (कवि रहस्य) of Halhyudha which is meant to illustrate the modes of formation of the present tense of Sanskrit roots and incidentally serves as a eulogy of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (940 - 56 A. D.) is an epic of very low poetical merit

5 **Kapphanabhyudaya** (कप कणाभ्युदय) based on a tale in the **अवदान** (Avadana) of the conversion of a king of the south who had harboured evil designs against the king of Sravasti (श्रावस्ती) was composed by **शिवशक्ति** in full epic manner manifestly under the influence of **Mngha** and **Bharavi** in style and structure. It is a Buddhistic epic of the reign of **Avanti**



varman of Kashmir before the close of the 9th century,

6. **Hara Vijaya** (हरविजय) is an epic of the Kashmirian poet Ratnakara (রত্নাকর) with the styles রাজ নর and বাগীশ্বর in 50 cantos under the influence of Magha. The author lived under Brihaspati or cipata Jayapida and Avantivarman about 850 A. D. The theme is the slaying of the demon Andhaka, born of Siva, by the God himself.

7. **Kadambari Kathasara** (कदम्बरी कथासार) an epitome in epic form of Bana's Kadambari, composed by Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhatta of Kashmir about the middle of the ninth century. The author mentions himself as contemporary of রাজশেখর ।

8 **Ramacharita**, dealing with the history of Ramachandra from the rape of Sita, is an epic by another Abhinanda, son of Satananda of Kasmir.

9. In the eleventh century Kasmir produced the polymath শেখেল In 1037 A D, he wrote ভারত-বিশ্বরূপী and in 1066 A. D., he wrote দশাবতারচরিত, (the 10 incarnations of Vishnu,) wherein he celebrates the Buddha as the ninth. Of early date is his রামাবলম্বরী, an epitome of Valmiki's Ramayana which, like that of the মহাভারত, is important for the history of the text. শেখেল turned Kadambari also into verse in the পদ্যকাদম্বরী ।

12. In the 12th century Kashmir produced another poet মঙ্খ (Mankha) who composed the epic শ্রীকৃষ্ণচরিত (Srikantha charita) in 25 cantos telling the tale of the overthrow of the demon ত্রিপুর (Tripura)

by Siva. He was a pupil of ৰূপ author of অলঙ্কার সৰ্ব্ব

13 The epic Haracharitchintamani ( হরচরিত চিন্তামণি ) of the Kashmiri poet জয়রথ (Jayaratha) in the 12th century has some value for religion as a store house of Saiva myths and of evidence of Saiva practices and beliefs

14 Ramapala charita ( রামপাল চরিত ) of Sandhya kara Nandin is intended to refer in each stanza to the history of Ramachandra as also to king Rama pala at the close of the 11th century in Bengal

15 Raghava Pandaviya ( রাঘব পাণ্ডব ) of কবিরাজ (রাঘব ভট্ট) styled সূত্রি or পণ্ডিত at about 1000 A D celebrates by দ্বৈত (double entendres) simultaneously the actions of Ramachandra and of the Pandava princes. The stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are told at once and the same time

16 The রাঘব নৈষধীয় (Raghava Naishadhiya) of Haradatta Suri tells by double entendres (দ্বৈত) the tale of Ramachandra and Nala but it has not the merit of the রাঘব পাণ্ডবীয়

17 The রসিকরঞ্জনা (Rasikaranjana) of Ramachandra son of Lakshmana Bhatta who wrote in 1542 at Ayodhya, gives us an erotic poem in one way and a eulogy of asceticism in another

18 Naishadhacharita or Naishadhiya ( নৈষধচরিত or নৈষধীয় ) is a remarkable epic in 22 cantos of Sriharsha ( শ্রীহর্ষ ) son of Hira ( হীর ) and Mamalladevi ( মাল্লদেবী ) who wrote under বিজয়চন্দ্র and জয়চন্দ্র ( Vijayachandra and Jayachandra ) of Kanauj in the second half of the 12th century. He was also author

of the ঋগ্বেদ-খাদ্য wherein he establishes the reasonableness of the Vedānta by showing that all attempts at obtaining certainty are fallacious

19 যশোধরচরিত (Yasodhara charita) of Kanakasesena Vadiraja, is a Kāvya in 4 cantos with 296 verses composed in the 10th century.

20 যশস্থলক (Yasastilaka) of Somadeva Suri of the 11th century

21 & 22 Pandava Charita (পাণ্ডব চরিত) and Mrigavati charitra (মৃগাবতা চরিত্র) of দেবপ্রভ হরি are works of the 13th century.

23. মহাপাণ্ডব চরিত in 14 cantos of চারিপ্রহর গণিন্ is an epic of the 13th century

24. পদ্যচূড়ামণি (Padyachudamani) ascribed to the Pali scholar বুদ্ধঘোষাচার্য is a মহাকাব্য of high merit

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### Lecture 3

#### HISTORICAL KAVYA

#### Beginnings of History

1 The Puranas contain, amid vast masses of religious and social matters, some traces of the activity of court-poets who made genealogies.

2 The Buddhists made some more serious approach to history in their legends of the Buddha, for example the মহাবংশ of মহানাম্ in the 5th century A D.

3 The Jains too in their Pattavalis give us accounts of the tirthakaras

4 Poetic merit of a modest kind may be found from time to time in the inscriptions which are the most substantial early contributions to Indian history. The most valuable in this regard are the encomia prasastis of which we have noted specimens of the Gupta age

5 We are carried further into the region of History by the Harsha Charita of Bana Bhatta of the 7th century. It is a historical prose romance about the poet himself and his patron King Harsha vardhana of Kanauj

6 The গৌড়বর্ষ ( Gaudavaha ) of Vakpati Raja written in Maharashtra Prakrit to celebrate the defeat of a Gauda ( গৌড় ) prince by the Poet's patron Yasovarman ( যশোবর্মান ) of Kanauj who himself was overthrown and killed not much later ( 740 A D ) by a king of Kashmir ( Lalitaditya )

7 Navasahasanka Charita ( নবশাসাঙ্কচরিত ) of Padma Gupta also called Parimala in 18 cantos was written about 1005 A D alluding to the history of king Sindhuraja Navasahasanka of Malava. It also gives us the mythical theme of the winning of the princess শশিপ্রভা

8 কর্ণসুন্দরী ( Karna Sundari ) is a drama by Bilhana in which the poet celebrates under the guise of the marriage of a Chaulukya prince to the daughter of a Vidyadhara king an actual wedding of his patron to a princess

9. Bhubanabhyudaya ( ভুবনাব্যুদয় ) of Sankuka, according to Kalhana, describes the dreadful battle of Mamma and Utpala ( 850 A. D. ) where the current of the Vitasta ( Jhilum ) was stemmed by the bodies of the slain.

10. বিক্রমাদেবচরিত ( Vikramanka deva charita ), a historical epic in 18 cantos by Bilhana in honour of his patron Vikramaditya VI, Chalukya king of Kalyana ( 1076—1127. ) who bestowed on him the gifts of a blue parasol and an elephant and thus chained him to his court

11. Kalhana of Kashmir, the illustrious poet of the history of Kashmere, tells us in his Rajatarangini ( রাজতরঙ্গিনী ) the chronicle of the kings of Kasmir from the earliest days. He consulted eleven works of former scholars as well as the still extant Nilamatapurana. The polymath ক্ষেত্রজ্ঞ had written a নৃপাবলি which Kalhana censures for want of care. The Rajatarangini is both an epic and a history.

### Minor Historical Kavya

1. Jalhana wrote an account of the life of the king of Rajapuri, in his সোমপালবিলাস ( Somapala-Vilasa ), সোমপাল who was conquered by Sussala.

2. The virtuous but extremely dreary Jain monk Hemachandra ( 1088—1172 ) wrote কুমারপালচরিত or কুমারপালব্যাস in 28 cantos in honour of Kumarapala, the Chaulukya king of Anhilvad about 1163 A. D.

3. Kirti kaumudi ( কীর্তিকৌমুদী ) of Someswara Datta ( 1179—1262 ), author of various inscriptions,

is a minor historical Kavya on the eulogy of Vastu pala a minister of the princes of Gujrat

4 **সুরথোৎসব** ( Surathotsava ) in 15 cantos by the same author is a political allegory on Vastupala

5 **শুক-কীর্তন** ( Snkṛita Sankirtana ) in 11 cantos of Arisinha of the 13th century is historically useful as affording a check on Someswara deva

6 **রামপালচরিত** of Sandhyakara Nandin describes the feats of the powerful king Ramapala of Bengal who recovered his ancestral throne from an usurper Bhima and conquered Mithila, reigning 1084—1130 A D

7 **রাজেন্দ্রবর্গপুর** ( Rajendra Karuapura ) of Sambha is a panegyric of Harsha deva of Kashmir at whose court the poet wrote **অটোক্তি-কালতা** ৩৬

### **Bhartrihari Amaru Bilhana and Jayadeva**

1 Our first great monument of Sanskrit lyric and gnomic verse after Kalidasa is found in the **শতক** of Bhartrihari They are (1) **শূদ্রাশতক** in varied metres depicting pictures of love, (2) **বৈরাগ্যশতক** depicting indifference to things of sense and (3) **নাতিশতক**, depicting wise conduct The **শতক** contain stanzas from well known works such as the **উদ্যোগ্যটিকা** the **অজ্ঞান শতক** the **মুদ্রারাস** and other works The author was the same as **চর্চহরি** author of the **বাক্যদ্বয়**, the last independent contribution to Sanskrit Grammatical science He was not a Buddhist but a Saiva of the Vedanta type to whom Siva appears as the most perfect presentation of the final reality the Brahman

Amaru : -অমরকণ্ঠক ( Amaru Sataka ) or a century of stanzas of the poet Amaru or Amaruka is presented to us in a very different condition in the manuscripts having from 90 to 115 verses. The কণ্ঠক was recognised by আবদুল করিম ( 850 A D ) as a work of high repute and Vamana ( 800 A D ) cites it. Tradition tells us that the great Sankara animated for a period the body of a king of Kasmir of the name of Amaruka in order to obtain knowledge of the pleasures of love and the Sataka is the record of his experiences with the hundred ladies of the harem. Indeed the Sataka is a collection of pictures of love and it differs from the work of Bhartrihari in that while Bhartrihari deals with general aspects of love and women as factors in life, Amaru paints the relation of lovers and takes no thought of other aspects of life.

Bilhana —চৌরপঞ্চাশিকা ( Chaura Panchasika ) or more correctly চৌরীসুরতপঞ্চাশিকা ( Chauri surata panchasika i.e. 50 stanzas on a secret love ) is an interesting relic in the form of a poem by Bilhana. In two of the versions it is found ( i.e. that of Kasmir and that of South India ) and it is embedded in a poem styled Bilhanakavya, in which it is asserted to have been composed to record a secret intrigue with a princess. Discovered by the king, the poet was sentenced to death and led out for the purpose, but his recitation of the glowing verses, in which he called to his memory for the last time the joys of their secret union, induced his majesty to relent and permit his marriage to the princess. The princess was Chandralekha.

daughter of king Virasinha of Mahilapattana or she was *যামিনীপুত্রিকা*, daughter of king *বদনাভিষায়* of Panchala. Besides the poem is an appeal to the goddess Kalika by the prince Sundara of Chaurapalli when condemned to death by king Virasinha for his intrigue with the princess Vidya which was borrowed by the Bengali Poet Bharata Chandra in his illustrious Bengali poem *বিদ্যাভঙ্গ*. The Poet Bilhana was a Kashmirian and had to live at a southern court.

**Jayadeva** In the court of Lakshmana Sena of Bengal belongs the last great name in Sanskrit poetry. *জয়দেব* son of Bhajadeva of kindubilva with Govardhana Dhami Sarana and Umapatidhara as one of the five jewels adorning the court. We have preserved of him one tiny Hindi Poem a eulogy of Hari Govind, claimed to be the oldest in the *adigrantha* of the Sikhs and many legends are told in the *Bhaktamala* of his devotion to Krishna who himself aided him to describe the loveliness of Radha when his mortal powers failed. He is the reputed author of the perfect and very novel work of art, the *Gita Govinda* or *Gita Govinda Kavya* the poem in which Govinda, Krishna as lord of the herdsmen (both male and female) is sung. He is the over king of poets ( *কবিত্বাজ* ) and his high qualities (of version) attracted the praise of the east and the west alike. Sir William Jones calls the *গীতাগবিন্দ* a little pastoral drama. Lassen calls it a lyric drama, while Von Schroeder prefers to term it a refined Yatra. The poet divides his



poem into cantos. The songs are given to us with precise indication by the terms of the melody (ꣳꣳꣳ) and time (ꣳꣳꣳ) of the music and dance they are to accompany. It was no doubt an immense original step from the popular songs of the Yatras to produce so remarkably beautiful and finished a work. The art of the poet displays itself in the mode of his blending the song and the recitative in the skill with which monotony of form is avoided by not restricting the recitative to mere introductory verses explaining the situation, while the songs express in their turn the feelings of the personnel of the poem, Krishna, his favourite Radha and the faithful friend, who is the essential confidante of all.

Classical poets see no harm in love-adventures of the greatest deities and what Kalidasa did in his *कुमारवध* was repeated by all his successors in one form or another. But the religion of Jayadeva was the fervent Krishna-worship which found in the God the power which is ever concerned with all the wishes, the hopes and fears of men, which, if in essence infinite and ineffable, yet expresses itself in the form of Krishna and which sanctions in his amours the loves of mankind. In this sense the *Gītāgovinda* is deeply touched with the spirit of religion. All doubt and all scepticism are far from Jayadeva, to whom alike in his play with others and in his more abiding love for Radha and Krishna, He remained not merely divine, but the embodiment of the highest of Gods. The poem is a masterpiece and it surpasses in its completeness of

effect any other Indian poem Fondness of Ynmakas ( not due to অলঙ্কার ) led the poet to use rhyme in the Gitagovinda

### Lyric poetry and the anthologies

1 শূদারভিলক attributed on no reasonable ground, to Kalidasa consists of 23 stanzas of attractive pictures of love but they lack special distinction

2 Ghata Karpura in 22 stanzas describes how a young wife at the beginning of the rains sends a message by the cloud to her absent husband reverse of what is described in Kalidasa's মেঘদূত The poem owes its title to the fact that the author at the close offers to carry water in a broken jar for any one who can surpass him in বাক্য ( i.e. alliterations consisting of repetitions in corresponding places of groups of the same letters ) Hence there has been evolved the poet ঘটকর্পূর who would thus have perpetuated his name by this wordplay He was included in the list of the nine Jewels of king Vikramaditya's court To Ghatakarpura is ascribed a poem called নাতিদার in 21 stanzas

3 সূর্যসাতক (Suryasataka) is a lyric of Mayura (ময়ূর) who flourished at Harsha Vardhana's court in the 7th century and was the reputed father in law of Banahhatta The legend tells us that the poet described so minutely the beauties of his daughter that she cursed him in anger and he became a leper from which unhappy state he was rescued through the aid of the Sun God by his enlogizing him in his সূর্যশতক

4 আৰ্যাসপ্তসতী (Arya Saptasati) of Govardhana of

the court of king Lakshmana Sena is a lyric of not very high merit. The aim of Govardhana, as he himself insists, was to raise the Yamuna in the air in the shape of elevating the simple love-songs extant in Prakrit to the level of Sanskrit. His chosen medium is the Arya verse, and he has composed in this metre, which is borrowed by Sanskrit from Prakrit, seven [hundred erotic stanzas, without inner connection, and arranged alphabetically. The poetry lacks the popular flavour which marks the Saptasati (সপ্তশতী) of Hala who was no doubt the model of the poet here,

The anthologies (কবিবচনমুচ্চয়) are the source of our knowledge of the poet Panini, the grammarian. Many poems are anonymous, while others are so variously ascribed by the anthologies that no weight can be placed on the names ascribed to them. কবিবচনমুচ্চয় is an anthology in Nepal. স্মৃত্তিকাগামুত or স্মৃত্তিকাগামুত of ত্রিপুরদাস is another anthology. জলহংস স্তোত্রাবলি and শাদ্ধর পদ্ধতি are noted anthologies.

### Religious poetry

Production of hymns of praise to Gods naturally did not cease with the Vedic poets, but they gradually led to the praise of Siva, Vishnu, Brahman, &c, the sectarian Gods. They were strengthened from time to time by the influx of praise to the Sun by sun worshippers from Iran.

1 The চণ্ডীশতক (Chandisataka) of Bana-Bhatta in honour of the goddess Chandī is both a poem and a prayer for protection of worshippers in 102 stanzas.

2 ভক্তামর স্তোত্র (Bhaktamara stotra) of Manatunga or Matanga of the court of Harshavardhana in honour of the jain saint Rishava is a poem on devotion

3 It is difficult to realise that a religious motive is also present in the বক্রোক্তি পঞ্চাশিকা (Vakrokti Panchasika) of the Kasmirian poet Ratnakara who in 50 stanzas shows a remarkable power of illustrating the ambiguities of the Sanskrit language

4 শিবাপর ধ্যানমালা প্রোক্ত ভবানুগত আনন্দলক্ষ্মী দেবীশতক, অষ্টাষ্টক সরস্বতীস্তোত্র &c are ascribed to Sankaracharya

5 দেবীশতক of আনন্দ বর্দ্ধন the writer on poetics (850 A D) is a nice piece of religious poetry

6 Utpala devas Stotravalī was written about 925 A D It consists of a series of 24 short hymns in honour of Siva

7 Mukunda mala (মুকুন্দমালা) of বৈষ্ণব কৃষ্ণশেখর in honour of Vishnu was composed in the 10th century A D

8 লীলাশতক or বিদ্যমদন in the 11th century A D produced his কৃষ্ণকর্ণামৃত or কৃষ্ণলীলামৃত in 110 stanzas in honour of Krishna It is a popular religious poem

### Prakrit Lyrics

1 Hala's Sattasāī (সপ্তসতী) comes before us with a definite character of its own which was attempted to be imitated by গোবর্দ্ধন The author was হালসাতবাহন of the 1st or the 2nd century A D It is a folk poem in Maharashtra dialect

2 A later Prakrit anthology is the Vajjalagga of Jayavallabha ন বৈজয়ন্তী

## Lecture 4

*Gnomic and Didactic poetry.*

India has ever delighted in the expression of pithy observations on life and morals. In the Rig-veda moral stanzas are incidentally preserved in surprising number in an episode of the ঐতবেষ ব্রাহ্মণ. Such verses are seen in the Upanishads and the sutras, while the মহাভারত is too rich both in gnomic and didactic matter. Patanjali knew such a literature and in the ৪ম দ of the Pali canon we have the finest collection of sententiae known in India. We see, in fact, the process at work in the case of the collections, such as the রাজনীতিসমুচ্চয়, the চাণক্যনীতি, চাণক্যরাজনীতি, বুদ্ধচাণক্য, লঘুচাণক্য &c. The number of recensions is extremely large. Other minor collections of gnomic stanzas are attributed to Vararuchi, to Ghata-Karpara and to Vetala Bhatta under the styles of নীতিবন্ধ, নীতিসাব, and নীতিপ্রদাপ, all of them containing some excellent stanzas. Of greater importance is the নীতিগতক of ভর্তৃহরি. Under the avaricious king শঙ্করবর্ধন (883-902 A. D.) of Kashmir Bhallata wrote his গতক, carefully elaborated and in varied metres. Less original is the গীতিগতক of another Kashmirian poet, Silhana, who had also worked in Bengal. He was an admirer of Bhartrihari and often borrowed from him, when he did not reproduce he altered in order to adapt the stand-point of an earnest Vaishnava to that of a Saiva like Bhartrihari. He was essentially bent on glorifying the merits of asceticism and there

is much in him that is common to all three great religions Hinduism Buddhism and Jainism শঙ্কর wrote under king Harsha of Kasmir 1089—1101) an অ ন্যাক্তি মুক্তাশতক in 108 elaborate stanzas of ordinary merit His রাহেদ্রকর্ণপুর was a eulogy of Harsha দৃষ্টান্তশতক of কৃষ্ণদেব illustrates each maxim by an example ভাবশতক of নারায়ণ of the Taka family or of ভাব his protege, and the উপদেশশতক of Guman are works of ordinary merit জ্ঞানেশ্বর in the 17th century wrote his ভাণিনোবিলাস admirable as an erotic poem an elegy and a store of gnomic sayings

The anthologies are equally rich in gnomic matter as well as in lyric stanzas চণ্ডিকা is the most famous

There is of course no clear line of demarcation between the gnomic and the didactic verse The easiest mode of distinction rests on the extent and degree of unity of conception and that permits of indefinite variety শান্তিনেবাস বোধিতব্যাবতার is the most distinguished effort to adapt the elegance of Sanskrit poetry to the exposition of a complex philosophical and moral theme The শতশ্লোকী of কবীচন্দ্র sets out with some wealth of imagery the principles of the বেদান্ত The মোহমুদ্রার on the other hand by the fire of its manner and the elaborate rhyming it affects is more lyric than didactic The কুটনীমত of দামোদরপুত্র minister of king ভয়ানক of Kasmir (779—813 A D) is the interesting advice of a hetaira From the point of literary history it depicts a representation of Harsha as ব্রহ্মবলী in an effective and realistic manner The নীতিমঞ্জরী of Dya dvi Veda ( দ্যা দ্বি দ ) 1494 A D

illustrates some 200 Verses of maxims by tales culled from Sayana's commentary on the Rîgveda. The *মুক্তোপদেশ* of Jalhana is a warning in 66 stanzas against the wiles of hetairai. Half a century younger than *পেনেদ্র* was *অমিতগতি* whose *সুভাষিতব্রহ্মনন্দোহ* (collection of jewels of happy sayings) was written in 994 A D, and his *বক্ষপরীক্ষা*, 20 years later. The former work, in 32 chapters, touches on the Various aspects of Jain ethics with an obvious polemical attitude towards Brahmanical practice and speculations. More important is *হেমচন্দ্র's* *বোগশাস্ত্র* in simple *শ্লোক*s with his commentary in somewhat elaborate prose *শৃঙ্গারবৈরাগ্য-তরঙ্গিণী* of *নোনপ্রভ* ( 1276 A D ) in 46 stanzas, denounces the love of women.

## DIDACTIC FABLE.

**Origin of Fable** From the earliest times of the life of the Vedic Indians in India tales of all sorts passed current among the people as fairy tales, *Marchen*, or myths or fables in early stages of their development. Whatever be the purpose in which Brahmins are compared to croaking frogs as they sing at their sacrifice in the Rîgveda it is clear that we have a recognition of a certain kinship between men and animals, which coming out clearly in the *Upanishads* gives us the allegory or satire of the dogs searching out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of two flamingoes calling attention to *Raikwa* and the instruction of the young *Satya-Kama* first

by a bull then by a flamingo and then by an aquatic bird. Then in the epic Mahabharata we find clear recognition of fables. Not only do we hear of the bird providing golden eggs but of the naughty cat deceiving the little mice by an appearance of virtue so that they delivered themselves into her power and we have a motif which certainly is strongly suggestive of the material whence developed the Panchatantra. The Buddhist too were already making use of the common belief in close relationship of men and animals and they illustrated the deeds of greatness of the Buddha and his contemporaries in births by relating beast stories. The fable we have in the Panchatantra is an elaborate production. It is essentially didactic and thus must consist in part of a tale but in part also of a moral or maxim of practical life. The fable is essentially connected with the नीतिशास्त्र and the अर्थशास्त्र dealing with man's action in practical politics and conduct of the ordinary affairs of every day life and intercourse. At no time can we regard the didactic fable as intended merely to extol cleverness without regard to morality there lingering around the work a distinct influence of the धर्मशास्त्र seeing that it was intended for instruction of the young princes and that the instructor was a Brahmana. The form of the fable is essentially dictated by its origin. The story is related in prose but the moral is fixed in the memory by being put in verse and it is natural that other didactic verses should be strewn in the tales. It is not possible to



speak of a Prakrit fable literature as being the precursor of the Panchatantra. The fable was of an independent creation in Sanskrit. The stories in the Panchatantra belong to the *কথা* class, though in one version it is called *ভ্রাতৃখ্যায়িকা* ( *কথা* meaning stories and *আখ্যায়িকা* historical romances ).

**Origin of the Panchatantra and its reconstruction :** The original of the Panchatantra is now lost. But we can find our way back to the substance of the original by examination of the chief of its representatives present before us in four main groups. The first is the Pahlavi version made before 570 A D whereof we have before us an old Syrian and an Arabic version. The second is a version produced in north-west India, which was interpolated in the version of *গুণাচ'র বৃহৎকথা* which formed the basis of the *বৃহৎকথামঞ্জরী* of *ক্ষেমেন্দ্র ব্যাসদাস* and of the *বথাসমুদ্র* of *সেনানন্দ* in the 11th century. The third is represented by two Kasmir Versions styled *ভ্রাতৃখ্যায়িকা* and by the two Jain recensions which derive their matter from a text akin to the *ভ্রাতৃখ্যায়িকা* and some other unknown versions. Fourthly we have the common ancestor of the Southern Panchatantra, the Napalese *পঞ্চতন্ত্র* and the popular *হিতোপদেশ*, the latter two being derived from a version, sister to the southern *পঞ্চতন্ত্র* now lost and the *হিতোপদেশ*, in considerable measure, being derived from another source altogether. The name of the original was certainly *পঞ্চতন্ত্র*, but we can not say for certain what *তন্ত্র* means here. Does it mean a book or does it indicate trick, specimen of sharp

conduct or didactic or authoritative treatise ? Again does *অধ্যায়িক* denote a *বীতিশাস্ত্র* in the form of tales arranged in five books or an authoritative text book (for policy) in the shape of an *অধ্যায়িক* or a text book composed of instructive or didactic tales ? It is perhaps likely that *পঞ্চরত্ন* meant originally five subject-matters as a title of a treatise dealing with five subject matters. Of the state of the original it must have existed before the Pahlavi version was made and that it was composed as early as the 2nd century B C. The author of the original was no doubt a Brahman but the name *বিষ্ণুসর্মান* (Vishnu Sarman) remains quite in the dark. The author is described as relating the tales to the sons of king *অমরশক্তি* of Mahilaropya or Mihilaropya in the Deccan, which is a sign of its southern origin while the *হিতোপদেশ* is connected with Bengal.

*হিতোপদেশ* (Hitopadesa). Among various descendants of the Panchatantra the Hitopadesa reigns in Bengal. The author gives his name as *সূর্যস্বৰ্ণ* whose patron was *ধৰ্মপাল*. His mention of the term Sunday ( *ভট্টারকবার* ) as a day of perfect rest shows that it can not be until 900 A D. Besides he was later than *সূর্য*. That he wrote in Bengal is made probable by the tale wherein he describes the worship of *গৌরী* (Gauri) very prevalent amongst the tantrikas of Bengal. His purpose is given frankly as instruction in conduct and his sources are stated to be the Panchatantra and another anonymous book. The political interest of the *পঞ্চরত্ন* is fully maintained and Narayana borrowed

largely from the *কামকদোয় নীতিদ্বার* in addition to what he got in the *পঞ্চতন্ত্র*. From the *Panchatantra* Narayana derived the inversion of books I and II, but in books III and IV he went his own way.

The *বৃহৎকথা* and its descendants: One of our serious losses in Indian literature is the disappearance of the *বৃহৎকথা* (*Brihat Katha*) of Gunadhya which ranked beside the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* as one of the great store-houses of literary art. We find it first named by Subandhu and Banabhatta in their works and by Dandin in his *Kavyadarsa*. Of his personality we have an account in three Kashmirian sources, the *বৃহৎ কথানন্দ* of *মেঘেন্দ্র* *ব্যাসদাস*, the *কথাসরিৎসাগর* of *সোনদেব* and the *হরচরিতচিহ্ন* of *জয়রথ*. From the above works we know that *গুণাধ্য* was born at Mathura, became in time a pandita in the court of king Madana of Ujjain, was vanquished by Sarva Barman and was advised to write in *পৈশাচী* dialect by a seer Pulastya and he composed the *বৃহৎকথা* and got it recited to king Sata Vahana by means of his pupils, who rejected the poem and hence in despair the poet threw the manuscripts in to the fire. The king then could save only one seventh of the 700,000 slokas of the original from fire. Gunadhya's time is uncertain, it was between the first and the 5th centuries A. D. It is impossible to determine the exact context of the *Brihatkatha*. The sources on which he drew were three in number. The *Ramayana* gave him the motif of the search of a husband for a wife cruelly stolen from him soon after a happy marriage, from

Buddhist legends and other traditions of Ujjain and Kanauj he was deeply familiar with the tales of Pradyota or Mihāsena and the gallant and dashing hero Udayana whose love adventures were famed for their number and variety. He was also in touch with the many tales of sea voyages and strange adventures in far lands which were current in busy centres of Indian trade and with the abundant fairy tales and legends of magic current in India. Gnanadhya's influence is seen in the drama *सुहृदटिक्*, in *मृदुल* *महामाया* *रिक्त* in *śomadeva* *Suris* *वसन्ति* *क* and in *धनपाल* *तिशक* *मञ्जरी* *बृहत्कथामोक्त* *एह* of *बृहस्पति* — The manuscripts of this work are from Nepal. It is divided into cantos (*skandas*) of which only 28 survive in 4539 verses. Though we have only fragmentary portions of the original still it is a genuine Sanskrit version of the *बृहत्कथा*. The *बृहत्कथामञ्जरी* of *वेवेक्ष* and the *कथामञ्जरी* of *सोमदेव* are the Kashmirian versions of the *बृहत्कथा* in Sanskrit. Kshemendra's *बृहत्कथामञ्जरी* was produced in his youth like his *ভারত-মঞ্জরী* and *দ্বন্দ্ব-মঞ্জরী*. His abridgements are dry and sober reproducing faithfully, though with much omission and curtailment often to obscurity their originals but depriving them of all life and attraction. But we can assume that his account of the contents of the *বৃহৎকথা* of Kashmir accords with reality. The coincidence of the two recensions tells us plainly that the original was divided into 18 *skandas* as its main divisions. *কথামঞ্জরী* *মঞ্জরী* is the Sanskrit version of the *বৃহৎকথা* of *সোমদেব* a Brahman of Kashmir, son of Rama

between 1063 and 1081 A D, who wrote it to divert the troubled mind of স্বর্ষদত্তা a princess of Jalandhara, wife of Ananta and mother of Kalasa. The work falls a considerable period after that of ক্ষেমেন্দ্র In addition to the division into lambakas Somadeva has one of his own composition into ভূত 124 in all, in relation to his naming the book as Ocean of the rivers of stories ( কথাসরিংসাগর )

**Romantic and didactic Tales** 1. Romantic tale The fame of the Brihatkatha resulted in few other tales preserved in works of early date. (1) The বেতালাপঞ্চবিংশতিবা ( Vetala Pancha Vinsatika ) was originally part of a distinct cycle, but it is preserved for us in its oldest form in ক্ষেমেন্দ্র's বৃহৎকথামঞ্জরী and সোমদেব's কথাসরিংসাগর We have several other recensions, of which that of শিবদাস ( Sivadasa ) is in prose and verse, representing the original form of the tales. One recension of an anonymous author is no more than a prose version based on ক্ষেমেন্দ্র, and Kshemendra's verses have here and there found their way into the codices of শিবদাস The late recension of ভক্তলদত্ত has no verse maxims and its form of tales is in some respects older than that shown by other recensions. An abbreviated version by বল্লভদাস is also known. শিবদাস's recension can not date before the 12th century A D (2) সিংহাসনদ্বাত্রিংশিকা or 32 tales told by the statues of maiden on a throne alleged to have been discovered by Bhoja of Dhara in the 11th century, when that king desired to seat himself on it. The throne is said to have been won by Vikramaditya

as a gift from Indra and after his death in battle against ॥শিবাহন it had been buried in the earth and the 32 spirits bound there in statue form tell tales of the great monarch and receive release. More like the original form is the south Indian version with gnomic verses and occasional narrative verses mingled in its Prose. In a North Indian recension the stories are lost in morals. The Bengal version ascribed to বররুচি (Vararuchi) is merely based on the Jain recension. The work is later than the Vetala Panchavimati. বিক্রমাদিত্য's adventures are also the subject of an alleged epic in 30 Chapters the Viracharita (বীরচরিত) of Ananta whose real hero is rather শূরক once co regent of Sahvahana but later a supporter of the descendants of Vikramaditya. Of the Sahvahana Katha in 18 cantos partly in prose by শিবদাস and (4) of the সাহবানকথা in simple prose with Sanskrit and Prakrit stanzas by অনন্ত pupil of Bhatta Vidhyadhara we can say this much that they are romantic tales only. But interesting is (5) the শুকসমুচ্চি (Sukasaptati) seventy tales of a parrot of which we have two recensions and was known to the Jun Hemchandra. The form of the original was simple prose interspersed with gnomic verse and with some narrative verses at the beginning and end of each of the tales. The close contact of the literature of tales with the people is shown by the fact that later we find apparent Sanskrit versions of vernacular works as in (6) the ভারতীক দ্বাত্রিংশি (Bharatika dwatrinśika) tales intended to deride Brahmans and obviously of Jain inspiration.

শিবদাস's কথাগুণ, 35 tales including stories of fools and thieves, is also late and in (7) Vidyapati's Purusha-Pariksha (পুরুষপরীক্ষা), a collection of 44 stories, we have the work of an author who won, in the latter part of the 14th century, fame as a Maithili Poet To the same century belong also the legends of Jain ঐকতুঙ্গ and রাজশেখর in the (8) প্রবন্ধচিন্তামণি and (9) প্রবন্ধকোশ respectively Ballala's (10) ভোজপ্রবন্ধ, legends of the court of king Bhoja of Dhara, is a work of the 16th century

II Didactic tale. The tale aiming directly at edification rather than amusement is specially richly presented in Jain literature. In spite of their fondness to stories, the Jains demanded a moral in each tale and their writers were often led to spoil good stories such as the legends of Vikramaditya by seeking to make the participants in high adventure rather tedious exponents of Jainism

## Lecture 5.

### GREAT ROMANCES.

1. দণ্ডিন্ (Dandin) was the author of the Sanskrit romance, Dasa-Kumara charita, and the treatise on Sanskrit shetoric, Kavyadarsa He is said to have been the author of a third work also, but what that work was has not yet been ascertained As to the date of Dandin we know this much that his kavya-

dasharata was composed before Bhāṣya (A.D. 700) and he wrote the *Harsha Charita* before the time of king Harsha Vardhana and hence before Subandhu and Banabhatta.

Dandin derived the conception of the plot of his romance *Harsha Charita* from Guṇadhya's *Brihatkatha*. Like Banas' *Kadambari*, the *Harsha Charita* was left incomplete by Dandin. The *Pratimuktika* and the *Uttaraprakasha* were written afterwards. The *Dishakumara Charita* is a romance of the *dasharata* type, a didactic work in attempt to teach the doctrines of the *śāstrīya* in narratives of attractive character. His distinctive quality is the application to the simple tale, of the grand manner of the *Kavya*. The main interest of the romance lies in the substance, with its vivid and picturesque account of low life and adventure of magicians and fraudulent holy men of princesses and ruined kings of hetirani of expert thieves of fervent lovers.

2. *Subandhu* (Subandhu) was the author of the Sanskrit romance *Vasavadatta* (*वासवदत्ता*). His name appears first in the *Harsha Charita* of Banabhatta, where he is mentioned in the introduction as quelling the pride of poets and in the *Kadambari*. Banas uses the epithet *अतिद्वयी* (surpassing two) referring his work to the *Vasavadatta* of Subandhu and the *Brihatkatha* of Guṇadhya. Subandhu's name appears with those of Bhasa, Kalidasa and Harichandra in *Vakpati* Raja's *Gaudavaha*. He is classed with *Mentha Bharavi* and *Bana* by *Mankha* in his *Sri*



kantha charita and Kaviraja in his Raghava-Pandaviya boasts that Subandhu, he and Bana are masters of ambiguous diction (জল্প) He preceded Bana-Bhatta, but was anterior to Vatsyayana, author of the Kamasas'tra, saint Bharata, author of the Natya Sastra, and Gunadhya the author of the Brihatkatha. Subandhu lived in the second quarter of the seventh century. Subandhu's বাসবদত্তা was a katha (কথা) or a romance whereas there was an akhyayika (আখ্যানিকা) or historical romance of the same name at a very early age composed by Katyayana as mentioned by Patanjali.

**Plot of the Vasavadatta.** King Chintamani has a beautiful son, Kandarpaketu, who in a dream beheld a damsel of beauty excelling him. Sleep leaves him and with his friend Makaranda he sallies forth in quest of the unknown. In the Vindhya as he lies sleepless he over-hears the curtain-lecture of an indignant বনবী bird to her husband who defends himself for late hours by telling how the monarch পুষ্কর of Pushpapura has a peerless daughter, বাসবদত্তা, who in a dream has seen the lovely vision of a youth of whom she is deeply enamoured. She has sent her confidante ভাগিনী to bear to the youth an assurance of her deep love. There is no difficulty in securing the meeting of the two at Pataliputra, but the prince learns to his horror that the king, wearied of her unwedded state, means forth-with to marry her to the Vidyadhara-<sup>১</sup> chief পুণ্ড্রক. The lovers therefore flee by means of a magic-steed to the Vindhya where they fall asleep.

Awakened the prince finds to his sorrow that the maiden has departed and in his despair he is only kept from self destruction by a voice from the sky promising him reunion. After long wandering he finds a statue which at his touch awakens to life as his beloved and in reunion they live in great happiness in Kāndarpaketu's capital. Subandhu's claim in the work is that he is a storehouse of cleverness in the composition of works in which there is a pun in every syllable and this is carried out in prose with occasional verses interspersed and with an introduction in verse. In fact Subandhu's ideal was clearly the Gaudī (গৌড়) style with its enormous compounds (সমাস), its love of etymologizing, its deliberate exaggeration its love of harsh sounds its fondness for alliteration its attempt to match sense closely with sound, its research for recondite results in the use of figures of speech and above all in paronomasia and cases of apparent incongruity.

**Bana Bhatta** He leaves an autobiography in his historical prose kāvyā Harshacharita. He was a Brahman of the Vatsyāyana family (বংশী) His great grandfather গণেশ had a son বর্ধগতি who had 11 sons of whom হিহতা was his father and the lady গৌড়ী was his mother. His mother died when he was very young and his father, having brought him up with tender care till he attained 14, breathed his last. After his father's death he joined a dubious company and seized by a fit of wandering he went far acquiring evil repute in abundance.

But he redeemed his misspent youth by consorting with the wise and finally returned to pritikuta. Here he received a royal summons through Krishna, brother of king Harsha Vardhana. He went to the royal camp and was received with marked coldness by the king, but shortly afterwards received the royal favour. He recited the Haishacharita, because on a visit home he was asked to speak of the great king. The work is, however, left unfinished and what is more striking, the poet left his Kadambari incomplete though an end was made for it by his son Bhushana Bhatta or Bhatta Pulina, who states that he did so because regret was felt at the incomplete condition of the work. Between the Harshacharita and the Kadambari, the former was his earlier work than the latter. He was son in law of the poet Mayura, the author of স্বর্গশতক. Besides his historical romance ( আখ্যানিক ) Haishacharita and his romance ( কথ ) Kadambari ( পূর্বভাগ ) Bana is credited with the চণ্ডীশতক and the play পার্বতীপরিণয় in 5 acts. The feebleness of the play both in construction and style might have deterred critics from accepting the attribution and in point of fact it is clear that it was the production of বানভট্টবান in the 15th, century. The ascription of the রত্নাবলী to Banabhatta is also merely an idle surmise, for the limited imagination and restrained diction of the author of that piece are wholly unlike the over-fertile conception of বাণভট্ট and his amazing command of words.

The Harshacharita It is an autobiography

of the poet and a history of king Harshavardhana in whose court he lived for a long time. It is both a history and a prose kāvya of the ākhyāyika type.

**The Kadambari** It is a romance and a Prose Kāvya of the Katha type. It has a complex structure of its own for it consists of a long narrative in which are interwoven other narratives given by characters of the work. It is interesting to note how in the Kadambari and in the Brihat Katha tale whence the story is largely derived we find the highest perfection of manner in the inclusion of one tale within another. In the simplest form we have it in the *Chaitanyam* style where a tale of old is led up to by a tale of today and the story ends with the application to today of the legend of the past. In such works as the *Devanagari* there is a closer approach to the Kadambari in as much as the tales of the Vampire are all connected with the main purpose of the king and thus though distinct in themselves, serve to help on one main purpose. A closer approach is achieved in the *Devanagari* in so far as the princes each narrate their own experiences, thus introducing a degree of life which is wanting in the other forms, for in the Jatakas though the *Devanagari* tells a tale of what was really his past experience, it is not narrated in the first person. As the idea of the *Devanagari* is borrowed from the Brihatkatha, we have an additional proof of the free use there of this device of first hand narrative which is still further developed in the Kadambari,

because the whole of the tales told are essentially part of one complex action, unlike those of the princes of the romance of Dandin. The story is replete with the tenderness of human love, the beneficence of divine consolation, the pathos and sorrow of death and the abiding hope of reunion after death as a result of unswerving fidelity to love. There is a strong appeal in the element of the miraculous, nor is there anything save attraction in the wonderful history of the Moon and Pundarika, even the appearance of the latter in parrot-form has nothing ludicrous when it is believed that human beings do pass from one body to another (according to the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul). Bana's treatment of love is refined and graceful and shows itself at its best in the scenes between Kadambari and Prince Chandrapida. Bana achieves a wonderful insight into the currents of youthful passion and virgin modesty which sway a girl's mind when first she is moved to love. Credit is also due to him for his effective characterisation of so many characters. To king Tarapida, Queen Vilasavati, and above all, to minister Sukanasa he has imparted both life and colour, while the devotion of *পদ্মলেখা* is touchingly portrayed. There is no lack of movement and Bana is perfectly aware of the advantage of contrast. His sense of drama is revealed by the introduction with its brilliant portraits of king *শুদ্ধক* and the Chandala maiden, while his love for nature and his close observation reveal themselves in his descriptions of the Himalaya,

of lake অচ্ছেদ of মহাশেতা's abode and in minor touches throughout With uncommon merit, Bana's defects are equally grave not merely in respect of style and structure but in respect of proportion his defects are very great In his description of the wood, in his devotion to the beauties of the morning or the evening or the rising of the moon or the limbs of his heroine he loses sight of the plot itself Bana's fondness of figures of speech is obvious and metaphors similes seeming incongruity exemplification Sahokti and others abound

### Later romances

Banabhatta set a model which it was easy to admire but infinitely hard to follow with success Critics classed him with ীতিহাসিক one of the few poetesses of India who used Sanskrit as a model of the পাঞ্চাল style in which sense and sound are of equal importance Bana found an imitator in Dhanapala (ধনপাল) son of সর্বদেব (Sarvadeva) who lived under the patronage of Siyaka and Vakpati of Dhara and wrote in 972 3 A D রশভপঞ্চালিকা (Rishabha Panchasika) in 50 stanzas in Prakrit He wrote also a romance called Tilakamanjari (তিলকমঞ্জরী) after the heroine imitating Bana's Kadambari Another Jain effort to rival the Kadambari is seen in the গদ্যচিন্তামণি (Gadyachintamani) of Odayadeva (alias Vadibhasinha) who was a Digamhari Jain pupil of Pushpa sena

## Champu Kavyas.

The romances contain a few stanzas here and there, but they are normally and effectively in prose, but the literary compositions called Champu (চম্পু) differ vitally from them in that they use prose or verse indifferently for the same purpose. In this Champus differ from other forms of literature in which verse is mingled with prose. The verses in these cases are either gnomic or they serve to summarise the context of the story as do the title verses of the Panchatantra or occasionally they appear to lend greater effect to some point in the narrative as when a short speech is made in pointed form, or a specially important idea is thus underlined. The oldest চম্পুকব্য (Champu Kavya) is the দময়ন্তীকথা (Damayanti Katha) or নলচম্পু (Nala Champu) of Trivikrama Bhatta as well as his মদালসাম্পু (Madalasa champu) of the 10th century A. D. To the same century we owe the much more important work, যশস্তিলক (Yasastilaka) written in 959 A. D. by সোমদেব (Somadeva) who was a Digambara Jain and who wrote with an eye to the salvation of mankind by means of devotion to Jain faith. Another Jain Champu is the জীবদ্ধরচম্পু of Harichandra based on the উত্তরপুরাণ (Uttara Purana) of Gunabhadra and written not earlier than 900 A. D. Of Brahmanical Champus, the Ramayana-Champu is ascribed to Bhoja and Lakshmana Bhatta. There is a ভারতচম্পু (Bharata Champu) by Ananta in 12 stabakas. The

উদয়সুন্দরীকথা ( Udaya Sundari Katha ) of Soddhala a Valabha Kayastha of Lata who wrote in 1000 A D under the patronage of king Mummaniraja of the Koolan The model of the writer was Harsha charita of Bann The স্বাহা সুধারামচম্পু (Swaha Sudharama Champu) of Narayana of the 17th century describing the loves of Agnis wife swaha and the Moon in an idyllic manner has been compared by Pischel with Homers picture of the loves of Ares and Aphrodite The শঙ্কর চৈতন্যবিলাসচম্পু (Sankara-chetovilasa champu) of Srinara in honour of chetas sinha whose name figures prominently in the transactions of Warren Hastings is an extempore composition ( অত্মবৃত্ত )

### Fables and Marchen of Greece and India

Parallelisms between Indian and Greek fairy tales and fables have never been ignored Wagener held that Greece was the recipient but Weber and Benfy held that Indian fables were borrowed from Greece Now the Greek fable existing in the time of Hesiod was hinted at in Homer and appeared definitely in Archilochos and simonides But Benfy could not but hold that fairy tales were normally Indian in origio As a chronological consideration stress has been laid on the monumental evidence in India specially at Bharhut of the 3rd or 2nd century BC for the beast fables and the Jataka stories already existed in the 4th and 5th centuries BC We can not ignore the fact of Egypt having played a part in the genesis and



transmission of fables. Hertel insisted that the idea of making use of fables in the instruction on politics was essentially Indian and on its strength he claimed for India originality in respect of the best greek fables. Tales which can not be traced definitely to Indian sources may yet be readily assumed to have reached the west from India. Apart from literature tales often pass from mouth to mouth and the cru- sides resulted in prolonged intercourse between christians and Mahomedans. The Arab rule in Spain and the jews played an important part as intermediaries. Translations of the Panchatantra: The physician Burzoe under chosrau Anosharwan (531—79) translated a version of the Panchatantra into Pahlavi. It was rendered into syriac by one Bud in 570 A. D. and about 750 A. D. an Arabic version was made by Abdallah Ibnal Moquaffa from which the western versions are derived, At the close of the 11th century the Greek version of Simeon, son of Seth, gradually produced an Italian version of 1583 by Giulio Nuti, two Latin and one German versions and various Slav reproductions. In 1100 was produced the Hebrew version of the Rabbi Joel whence was made by John of capua a printed edition in 1480. A spanish version appeared in 1193 and 1570 an English translation of Part I was brought out by Sir Thomas North

## Lecture 6

## THEORIES OF POETRY (Poetics)

আদিনাট্যশাস্ত্র of saint Bharata which is essentially a treatise on dramaturgy of the earliest age is earlier than Bhasa and Kalidasa. The great merit of this treatise is that it develops the doctrine of sentiment (রস) with its eight subdivisions as erotic (শূদার), comic (হাস্য) pathetic (বদ্ব্য) those of anger (রোষ), heroism (বীর) fear (ভয়) disgust (বীভৎস) and wonder (আশ্চর্য). Sentiment (রস) is a condition in the mind of the spectator of a drama or the hearer or reader of a কাব্য Kāvya produced by the emotions of the characters and the emotions (বিস্তার) are excited by factors which may either be the object of emotion (আগন্ত বিস্তার) or serve to heighten it (উদ্বোধন বিস্তার). Poetics developed the sentiments. After the আদিনাট্যশাস্ত্র we find the poetics by দণ্ডিন্ and ভানহ. Bhamaha had a predecessor in বেদব্যাস. The earliest person to whom দণ্ডিন্ is known was উড়ট who commented on him under ভগবতী of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.). The কাব্যদর্শন of দণ্ডিন্ shows us a very simple stage of development of the conception of poetry. An important doctrine was expounded by ধনিকার about A. D. 820 and by the ধন্যাপোকাৰ আনন্দবৰ্দ্ধন about 40 years later and by the farther exposition of অভিব্যক্তি A. D. 1000. It was fully dealt in the কাব্যপ্রকাশ of রসটঙ্ক who fully explained ধনি, ফোট and শব্দ চিত্ত্র along with the laws of Kāvya.

## Lecture 7.

## SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE.

Origin of Sastras ( শাস্ত্র ) : Science, Sastra or Vidyā ( বিদ্যা ) in India arises in very close connection with religion. The Vedic period saw the development of definite sacrificial schools which preserved the tradition of one or other of the 4 Vedas. These vedic schools, however, gradually passed away and what happened was the inevitable rise of specialisation. If in a Rigvedic school the need for grammatical study produced a special school of grammarians ( বৈয়াকরণ ) they would tend to amalgamate with any grammarians who studied the Yajurveda and to extend their interest to the Vedas in general. Thus Yaska ( যাস্ক ), earlier than 5th century B C, knows of schools of Vāyākaranas, of Nairuktas, etymologists and of Yajnikas ( যজ্ঞিক ), persons who concerned themselves with the sacrifice, and the grammar of Panini is sufficient proof that there existed a grammatical school which was willing to include in its work usages of different Vedas and different schools of the same Veda. The বৈয়াকরণ are the direct ancestors of the science of Grammar in classical times. The Nairuktas 'in spite of their giving an impulse to lexicographical studies, can hardly be said to be the direct cause of the existence of কোশ ( Kosas ), which were largely influenced by the necessity of the writers of Kavya, who required to have collections of words for aid in the composition of poetry. Yet another early develop-

ment within the vedic period was the building up of schools of law including religious civil and criminal law. This must have been done together with the development of society and the necessity for having some standards to guide the Brahmins who acted as advisers and Judges to the ruling class. The Manu Samhita presupposes a considerable period of development during which there arose professional schools to one of which is due the production of the Smṛiti (स्मृति) which claims not to guide the life of any single community but to be a general guide for all classes of the state. The vedic sacrifice demanded a rudimentary knowledge of the calendar and elementary conceptions of mensuration. Definite ideas of these subjects were slow of development and were at first handed down merely in close connection with each Veda. We still have different recensions of the Jyotiṣa (ज्योतिष) on astronomy and the Śulba sūtras (शुल्बसूत्र) on the making of altars and kindred matters. From these beginnings developed a wider geometrical astronomical and astrological science which we find under the comprehensive title of Jyotiṣa studied in distinct schools. Medicine again appears first in the spells of the Atharva Veda and was fostered by the schools of magic practices which produced such a work as the Kauṣika (कौशिक) Sūtra of that Veda but its Vedic connection is less close than in the case of most of the sciences already mentioned, and what surgery and anatomical knowledge it possessed was furthered by the practice of dissecting

animals for sacrifices and less often even man in the human sacrifice ( নরমেধ ). The Vedic schools developed also a tendency to mysticism which is seen in the অরণ্যক's ( aranyakas ) and the Upanishads, which are attached to the great Brahmanas. The Upanishadas, inspite of their close connection with Vedic schools, transcend in their ideas the school-limit and prepare the way for the systems of philosophy. Theology and theosophy passed beyond the sphere of the old schools and were handed down in new forms of organisation. The study of metre (Prosody) was encouraged by the mystic importance attached in Vedic times to metre of the sacred texts, and ছন্দস্ (metrics) is reckoned as one of the six vedangas, but its character and importance were early affected by the need of affording guidance to writers of Kavya and other forms of literature. Poetics was hardly Vedic and represents an independent secular science. অর্থশাস্ত্র or নীতিশাস্ত্র has connection with ধর্মশাস্ত্র and কানশাস্ত্র was taught along with the primitive arthasastra under the ধর্মশাস্ত্র.

### Sanskrit Lexicography ( কোশ ).

The oldest work on lexicography in India is recorded in the Nighantus ( নিষট্ঠস ) or collections of Vedic terms, of which the most important are the lists in Jaska's nirukta. Bana, Mayura, Murari and Sriharsha composed dictionaries of terms for use in double meanings ( ত্ত্বৈবার্থ-পদসংগ্রহ ) The নিষট্ঠস further contained not merely a nominal but also

verbal forms, the **का** is only nouns and indeclinables. Of lexicons two main classes exist—synonymous, in which words are grouped by subject matter, and homonymous (अनेकार्थ नानार्थ), but all important synonymous dictionaries usually include a homonymous section. Names of Lexicons (1) Katyayana's नाममात्रा (2) वाचस्पति's शब्दार्थ (3) विक्रमादित्य's संग्रहावर्त (4) व्याडि's उपनिषद्. All these books are not yet printed (5) नागविश्वनाथ's of अमरसिंह (usually called अमरकोश) of about 500 A D occupies the same dominant position in lexicography as does the अष्टाध्यायी of Panini in grammar. The work is synonymous arranged in three books by subjects with an appendix in the last on homonyms indeclinables and genders. नीलकण्ठ is its best commentator. त्रिकांशेश of पुरुषोत्तमदेव is its supplement. अनेकार्थ शब्दकोश of शास्त्र is older than अमरकोश. (7) অভিধানরত্নমালা of হুশাঙ্গ dates from about 950 A D. (8) About a century later is শ্যামপ্রকাশ's বৈজয়ন্তী. (9) বিশ্বপ্রকাশ of শ্যামপ্রকাশি dates from 1111 A D. (10) মজুমদার's অনকার্থকোশ was composed in Kashmir about 1150 A D. (11) Hemachandra composed four dictionaries (1) অভিধান চিহ্নমালা (on synonyms) (2) অণেবার্থগ্রন্থ (homonyms) (2) প্ৰাকৃতশব্দমালা (a dictionary on Prakrit words) and (4) বৃক্ষটীকা a botanical glossary which forms a supplement to his অভিধানচিহ্নমালা.

### Treatises on metre

Sections of the শাস্ত্রাধিকারশ্রীভূষণ the নিদানশূত্র the অঙ্কপ্রতিশাস্ত্র and কাব্যধ্বন্য Anukramanis to the Rīg-

veda and yajurveda deal with metre. The topic ranks as the বেদাদ্বন্দ্ব: and a sutra of this name is ascribed to Pingala, but the পিঙ্গলছন্দ: সূত্র is far more concerned with classical than Vedic texts. Pingala is earlier than ভরত whose আৰ্য্যনাট্যশাস্ত্র in chapters XIV and XV deal with metre. The ঞ্জবোধ, ascribed to Kalidasa, illustrates while describing the verses. A chapter (104) in the বৃহৎসংহিতা of বরাহমিহির describes metres simultaneously with planetary movements. ক্রোড়শ in his সূত্রতত্ত্ববোধিনী describes the metre with illustrations from his own works. হেমচন্দ্র wrote ছন্দোহস্ত-শাসন, বেদারবৃত্ত wrote বৃত্তরত্নাকর ( giving 136 metres ) and গঙ্গাদাস wrote ছন্দোদগমরী.

### Grammar,

Before বাঙ্গ we had the terms নান্দ (noun), সর্বনান্দ (pronoun), আখ্যাত (verb), উপসর্গ (preposition) and নিপাত (particle). Analysis of forms was added by বাঙ্গ in the Nirukta. শাকটায়ন noted that all nouns are derived from verbs. This was opposed by গার্গ্য, but the উগ দ্বন্দ্ব deriving words from verbs by unusual affixes confirmed the opinion of শাকটায়ন. We get then the পদপাঠ of the Rigveda by শাকল্য and the প্রাতিশাখ্যs on the Rigveda and the Taittiriya and Vaja Saneyi Sahit-  
tas and the শিক্ষাs. A regular Scientific treatise on grammar was the অষ্টাধ্যায়ী of Panini consisting of about 4000 short sutras divided into 8 books in the 4th century B C. Panini cites by name many predecessors such as শাকটায়ন, আপিশলি, গৌনক and others. He was a native of পালাতুর near the modern Atak, where-

HienT sang saw a statue to his memory His mother was দাসী and a legend ascribes his death to a lion Panini refers to the উণাদিসূত্র the গণপাঠ and the দাতৃপাঠ In 1140 A D বর্দ্ধমান metrically arranged the গণপাঠ in his গণরত্নমহোদধি The পরিভাষেন্বশেখর of নাগার্জুন is a collection of the rules of interpretation of পরিভাষা We have the বার্তিকস or notes of কাত্যায়ন ( 300 B C ) on 1245 of Panini's Sutras Patanjali in the second century B C composed the মহাভাষ্য with supplementary comment of his own The মহাভাষ্য was commented on in the 7th century A D by ভট্টরুরি in his বাক্যপদীয় in three books of verse which is concerned with the philosophy of grammar and by কৈয়ট at about the 13th century A D The first complete commentary of the অষ্টাধ্যায়ী of পাণিনি called কাটিকা by ভট্ট of জয়সিং and বাণন was composed at about 600 A D The প্রক্রিয়া কোমুদা of Ramachandra was the first attempt to make Panini's grammar easier by a more practical arrangement of its subject matter in the 15th century A D ভট্টোজা দাস্তিস সিংহাস্তকোমুদা of the 17th century A D has a similar aim

Amongst non Paninian grammarians may be mentioned চন্দ্র ( about 60 ) A D ) শাকটায়ন ( later than Kasil a ) and হেমচন্দ্র ( 12th century A D ) author of a Prakrit grammar and the উণাদিসূত্র The কাতন্ত্র of সর্ব বর্ধন ( usually called কোমর or কলাপব্যাকরণ ) seems to have been the most influential of later grammars বরকটিস প্রাকৃত প্রকাশ is a প্রাকৃত ব্যাকরণ The মুদ্রাবোধ of বোপদেব is only a partial work on grammar The ফিটসূত্র later than Patanjali gives rules for accentuation of nouns



Hemchandra's *লিঙ্গাঙ্কশাসন* is a treatise on genders of words. The *স্বপ্না* of পদ্মনাভদত্ত and *সংক্ষিপ্তনাম* of কন্দীশ্বর are short treatises on grammar.

### Civil & Religious Law ( ধর্মশাস্ত্র )

**Origin of Law :** With composition of Sutras on matters of ritual there were included in them instructions on matters closely akin to ritual, the daily life of the people, their duties of all kinds, including matters which more advanced civilisation would classify as questions of etiquette and social usage, moral, legal or religious. Of course in such rules were included regulations of all issues affecting caste, especially the vital one of marriage, and these books came to serve as rudimentary texts on law. Sutras of this kind were called *ধর্মসূত্র* as contrasted with those dealing with the more formal and domestic ritual which were called *শ্রোতসূত্র* and *গৃহসূত্র*. Thus the whole text called *কল্পসূত্র* was divided into three classes viz. *শ্রোতসূত্র*, *গৃহসূত্র* and *ধর্মসূত্র*. They were composed, in prose as briefly as possible, often with verses here and there to justify a doctrine or sum it up effectively. Amongst the old *ধর্মসূত্র* which were the original sources of Hindu law, we have the *গৌতম-ধর্মসূত্র* ( which now goes by the name of *গৌতম ধর্মশাস্ত্র* ) belonging to the *রাণায়নীয়* school of the *সানবেদ* and the *হাবীত ধর্মসূত্র* ( now called *হারীত ধর্মশাস্ত্র* ) in 30 chapters. The *বাসিষ্ঠ ধর্মশাস্ত্র*, preserved in fragmentary and interpolated manuscripts speaks, of the above two *ধর্মসূত্র*. It mentions **Manu** as an authority and it belongs according to *কুমারিলভট্ট* to a lost *Rigveda* School, the *Vasistha*. The

বৌদ্ধায়ন ধর্মশাস্ত্র and the আপস্তম্বীয় ধর্মশাস্ত্র are sutras of the schools of the কৃষ্যধর্মশাস্ত্র. The school of হিরণ্যকেশিনী is closely akin to the Apastambhiya. The dates of these works cannot be placed later than 4th or 5th century B C. The Vaishnava dharma sastra goes back to a ধর্মশাস্ত্র of the Kathaka school of the Black Yajurveda just as the হারিত ধর্মশাস্ত্র represents the মৈত্রেয়ী school. The বৈশ্বানর ধর্মশাস্ত্র, in three chapters deals with the duties of the castes and of the different stages of the life of the Brahman. It has the appearance of a late work drawn up in the sutra style. The dharma sutras of Paithinasi, attached to the অথর্ববেদ of শঙ্খ লিখিত attached to the গুরুধর্মশাস্ত্র of উশাস of কাশ্যপ and of বৃহস্পতি are high authorities on Hindu law. We see that there developed at an early date the tendency to study law in the widest sense of the term in special schools not content to adopt the practices of any single Vedic school. To the activities of these schools we owe the vast amount of didactic verses we find in the Mahabharata and in later law books.

মনুসংহিতা ( or মনুস্মৃতি ) universally known as মানবধর্ম-শাস্ত্র is the work of ভৃগু in accordance with the teaching of his master Manu. The genuine work on Hindu law as taught by saint Manu was the মনবধর্মশাস্ত্র which is a branch of the Maitrayaniya school of the Black Yajurveda. We often find reference to বৃহৎ-মহা and বৃহৎ-মহা containing 100000 verses which saint Narada reduced to 12000 in his সংহিতা saint মার্কণ্ডেয় reduced it to 8000 and saint Samati son of saint Bhrigu reduced it to 4000 stanzas, while the present বৃহৎ-মহা

of ভূগু is reduced to 2684 stanzas Three books of the Mahabharata contain as many as 260 stanzas out of 2684 stanzas of the present ভূগুসংহিতা The মনুসংহিতা, according to the scholars of the west, assumed its present shape not later than the second century A. D. Codes of মনু, বাজবল্য and নারদ are metrical rendering of either the নানবধম্মশাস্ত্র or poetical redactions of the বুদ্ধ-মনুস্মৃতি or বুদ্ধমনুস্মৃতি. Saint পরাশর, a lawgiver, says that the নানবধম্মশাস্ত্র was for the golden age ( নত্যযুগ ), that the গৌতম ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the silver age ( ত্রেতাযুগ ), that দ্বিজলিখিত ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the copper age ( দ্বাপর যুগ ) and পারাশর ধর্মশাস্ত্র was for the iron age ( কলিযুগ ) The বাজবল্য ধর্মশাস্ত্র containing 1009 stanzas is based on the ধর্মশাস্ত্র of the Yajurveda. The third section of this Sanhita resembles the পারাশর গৃহ্যসূত্র, but it is really based on the নানব ধর্মসূত্র of the কৃষ্ণযজুর্বেদ. It was composed about 350 A D, The author belonged to Mithila, mod Tirhut. The নারদ সংহিতা was the first to limit ধর্ম to law in the strict sense It was composed about 500 A. D. The পারাশরস্মৃতি was a later work.

The second stage of legal literature was formed by the commentaries. The oldest is the মেধাতিথিভাষ্য of the মনুসংহিতা of about 800 A. D, কুস্তূভট্ট's মনুসংহিতাবলী of the 15th century is only a plagiarism of গৌবিন্দরাজ's commentary of the 12th century. The most celebrated commentary on the বাজবল্যস্মৃতি is the মিতাক্ষরা of বিজ্ঞানেশ্বর composed about 1100 A. D It attained the position of a standard work in the Deccan, in Benares and a great part of the আর্য্যাবর্ত. From about 1000 A. D. an innumerable multitude of legal com-

pendia called ধর্মনিবন্ধ was produced The চতুর্ভাগচিহ্নানি of হেনাদ্রি in 5 parts of about 1300 A D is the most imposing of them The ধর্মসূত্র of ঘোড়তাবাহন (of about the 15th century A D) is also important, a part of it the দায়ভাগ being the chief work of the Bengal school on the law of inheritance The বৃহৎসংহিতা is almost a Vartika (বাস্তিক) on Manu whom it supplements But in legal view it is distinctly more advanced It was composed between the 5th and 6th centuries A D The commentary of মধ্ব on the পাদ্যপুস্তক in the fourteenth century is an authoritative work In his মুক্তিকোষ মধ্ব includes religious as well as civil and criminal law and the law of procedure মধ্বের দায়ভাগসংগ্রহ composed for king নরসিং of Bengal deals with the whole duty of a Brahman and is in minor degree a law book মদনপারিষাত of বিষ্ণু (1360—1370 A D) written mainly on religious duties is also a very useful treatise on the law of succession The 28 treatises called শ্রুতিতত্ত্ব of Raghunandana ভট্টাচার্য of the 15th century A D are now the authorities in Bengal as regards rituals procedure, succession and inheritance

The Science of Politics and practical life (অর্থশাস্ত্র নীতিশাস্ত্র) Origin of অর্থশাস্ত্র Vedic literature affords a quite false impression of the Vedic Indian as a person given to reflection and religious practices without regard to practical life The East confronted Alexander with an obstacle which he did not attempt to penetrate and his garrisons had soon after his death to be withdrawn To judge India a right

we must add two other objects to the *dharma*, religious and moral duty which is dwelt on in Vedic texts. The *śāstra* speaks of the three objects in life, *dharma*, *artha* (politics and practical life in general) and *kaṃ* (love). The epics, *Viṣṇu Smṛiti*, *Manusmṛiti*, *Patanjali-Mahābhāṣya*, dramatists, fiction literature, all speak of them. The *śāstras* deal with royal duties, capitals and countries, officials, taxes, and military preparations as they do with justice, and the epic, in a list of authorities of the science of kings ( *rajaśāstra* ) includes *brāhmin*, *śāstra*, *śāstra*, *śāstra* ( *śāstra* ) and *śāstra*, who pass also for authorities on *dharma*. Gradually there sprang up schools who studied *dharma* and *śāstra*. Doctrines of *dharma* found, like those on *dharma*, expression in didactic verse. The *Mahābhārata* assures us that *brāhmin* (the creator) was the author of a work in 100,000 sections on *dharma*, *artha* and *śāstra*, that *śāstra* (as *śāstra*) reduced it to 10000 in consideration of the brevity of life, that *śāstra* brought it down to 5000 and that finally *Indra's* work ( called *śāstra* ) was reduced by *brāhmin* to 3000 and by *śāstra* to 1000 sections. From the *śāstra* we know *brāhmin*, *śāstra*, *śāstra*, *śāstra* and *śāstra* as authorities, and the *śāstra* of *Vaṭṣyāna* ascribes *dharma* to *Manu*, *artha* to *brāhmin* and *śāstra* to *Nandin*. The *Mahābhārata* contains sections dealing with polity. The *śāstra* is variously called *nītiśāstra* ( science of conduct ), *śāstra* ( conduct of kings ), and *śāstra* ( policy of punishment ) and it was honoured by the Hindus. But the Buddhists hotly denounced *śāstra* and condemned *nītiśāstra* *śāstra*.

cites a বাহ্যিক অর্থশাস্ত্র as an object of study by Brahmanas কোটিলীয় অর্থশাস্ত্র is one of the most interesting works in Sanskrit as it affords a vast amount of detailed information about the practical side of Indian life as opposed to the spiritual and covering ground touched on in the treatises on ধর্ম and it does so with a wealth and accuracy of detail which is completely other than the often vague generalities the stock in trade of these texts. It is divided into 15 great sections ( অধিকরণ ) and 180 subdivisions ( প্রকরণ ) crossed by chapters ( অধ্যায় ) Through misunderstanding it is often compared to the works of Machiavelli as the work is in no sense intended as a treatise on political philosophy. The অর্থশাস্ত্র accepting the existence of the three aims of life—ধর্ম, অর্থ and কাম holds অর্থ as the most important. It holds government as most essential for without it there would be the reign of anarchy. Under the sceptre all castes and their ordered ways of life prosper—ধর্ম, অর্থ and কাম are fulfilled. By state the অর্থশাস্ত্র means an order of society which the state does not create but which it exists to secure. The ways of a king are dictated by the necessity of preserving the royal power and the king's duty of securing the welfare of the system of which he is the protector gives him a morality of his own. The end, i.e. maintenance of a firm rule justifies the means. Of course in the use of means to secure obedience and to defeat enemies the অর্থশাস্ত্র is as ruthless as Machiavelli. Spies abound the harem and

the royal family are suspect and princes are deliberately debauched to prevent their rending their parents. Orthodox as is the অর্থশাস্ত্র, it advocates the shameless use of religion as a cloak for baseness. It gives us names of several kings who came to grief by one fault or another. The অর্থশাস্ত্র recognises the risks of a king from court-intrigues, military oligarchical factions, false ministers, unruly heads of guilds. It recognises the king as no more than a servant of the state, but of control by the people or constitutional limitations it knows nothing. The authorship of the অর্থশাস্ত্র is attributed to চানক্য, or বিকুণ্ঠ or কোটিয়া, minister of king Chandragupta in the 4th century B.c. Both the text and the comment are ascribed to him.

Later treatises Based mainly on the অর্থশাস্ত্র is the নীতিশাস্ত্র of কানন্দকি who hails চানক্য as his master. It is not merely a redaction of the অর্থশাস্ত্র. (2) Much more interesting is the নীতিবাক্যমৃত of সোমদেব স্মৃতি, the author of the বশস্তিক, who lets us know that he wrote that work before his treatise on royal duties. Deeply as he is indebted to the অর্থশাস্ত্র, his spirit is quite different. Of Brahmanical texts we have the যুক্তিবল্লভ ascribed to king ভোজ and the নীতিরত্নাকর of চণ্ডেশ্বর the jurist. Like নীতিপ্রকাশিকা, the শুক্লনীতি is a work of quite late date which mentions the use of gunpowder and as such is of no value as evidence for early Indian usage or philosophy.

### Ancillary Sciences.

The অর্থশাস্ত্র included ধনুর্বেদ (archery) which was an

old and respectable science amongst the warlike people Its authors include বিদ্যাদিত্য, সর্বাশ্ব and শাস্ত্রদেব শিল্পশাস্ত্র (architecture) or শিল্পশাস্ত্র including বাস্তবিক is represented by various anonymous works including the Mayamata শাস্ত্রমারবাস্তবশাস্ত্র Manasara and শিল্পমারবাস্তব (16th century) Elephants are described in the অশ্বাযুবেদ in a dialogue between king ব্রহ্মপাদ of অশ্ব and the ancient sage পালক্য The শাস্ত্রমারবাস্তব of নারায়ণ recognises Palakpyas claim to be the father of the science The অশ্বশাস্ত্র (Science of horses) is ascribed to sage শালিবাহু who is often cited as a patron of learning in respect of elephants and other animals He is often called অশ্ববৈদ্য and his work is called অশ্বাযুবেদ We have also the অশ্বাযুবেদ of গণ the অশ্ব বৈদ্য of ব্রহ্মপদ and of দীপক the শাস্ত্রমারবাস্তব of বর্দ্ধমান and the অশ্বচিকিৎসা of Nakula The রত্নশাস্ত্র or রত্ন পরীক্ষা developed and বরাহমিহির shows himself familiar with the examination of jewels The অগ্নিতত্ত্ব the রত্ন পরীক্ষা of বুদ্ধভট্ট and the রত্ন পরীক্ষা of নারায়ণ পণ্ডিত are principal works of this science The মুচ্ছকটিক reminds us of the science of stealing The সমুদ্রকল্প is a treatise on the science of stealing even by magic. As to the science of music we have the শাস্ত্রমারবাস্তব of শাস্ত্রদেব (13th century) the শাস্ত্রমারবাস্তব of দামোদর and the রাগবিবোধ of সোমনাথ (1609) On printing the বিষ্ণুসংহিতা of early date contains a section

### The Science of Love

The third of the aims of man is love (কাম) and this subject is explained in Indian Sastra along with ধর্ম and



অর্থ The অর্থশাস্ত্র is intended for kings and ministers nay for those who devote themselves to politics, and the science of love (কামশাস্ত্র) is to be studied by men of taste (নাগরকস) who desire to practise refinement and profit to the most by their knowledge of all that is meant by love. In order to be an accomplished man, one had to study the science of love along with ধর্ম and অর্থ for the study of it will be to induce a man who practises love to remember during it the claims of the other sides of human activity, ধর্ম and অর্থ, so that he will observe due moderation. The morality of the work is that of the অর্থশাস্ত্র, on the principle that 'all's fair in love and war'. নৃসিংহদেব মরহতী, the devout ascetic teacher, who assigns কামশাস্ত্র to the general head of medicine, assures us that it teaches that nothing but sorrow results even from all the refinements taught in the text. Vatsyayana's Kamasutra is the earliest work we have on কামশাস্ত্র.

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## Lecture 8.

### PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION.

#### Beginnings of Indian Philosophy :

The religious and philosophical spirit of India, in the process of development in the Veda, found brilliant literary exposition in the Upanishads and after the period of the Upanishads dates the time

when ideas of earlier thinkers were gradually taken up and made into definite systems, called *दर्शन*, taught in philosophic schools in the sense of a series of teachers who expounded and developed definite bodies of doctrine. After the existence of this development for some time, ultimately there came a desire to fix in definite form the doctrines of the schools which led to the composition of the sutras. Later we find independent works of the several schools. They recognise the authority of the sutras and make it clear that it was held that in them lay the essential doctrines of the schools which might be expounded and explained but were not to be contradicted.

Different schools of philosophy —The latest hymns of the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain speculations on the origin of the world and on the eternal principle by which it is created and maintained. The *सुखवेद* further contains cosmogonic legends describing how the Creator produced every thing by means of the omnipotent sacrifice ( *यज्ञ* ). With these Vedic ideas are intimately connected those of the earlier Upanishads. This philosophy is essentially pantheistic and idealistic. By the side of it grew up an atheistic and empirical school of thought which towards the close of the 6th and in the 5th centuries B. C., furnished the foundation of the two great heterodox ( *नास्तिक* ) religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism.

# CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY ( ভাবত-দর্শনানি )

## PHILOSOPHY ( দর্শন )

orthodox philosophy  
( ঐশ্বরিক দর্শনানি — believing in and  
admitting of the authority of  
the Vedas, including Brahmanas  
and Upanishads)

Heterodox or heretic philosophy defying  
the authority of the Vedas and admitting  
no God ( নীশ্বরিক-দর্শনানি )

বৌদ্ধদর্শন

(Buddhistic philosophy) (Jain philosophy) (Charvaka philosophy)  
of Gautama Buddha of মহাবীর

জৈনদর্শন

চার্বাকদর্শন

see next page



N. B. In the Upanishads, philosophical speculations appear in a rather chaotic condition. They were first systematised in manuals called the Sutras. Altogether there are nine schools of which six belong to the orthodox school, admitting of the authorities of the Vedas. Amongst the six orthodox systems, the most important are the pantheistic Vedanta and the atheistic Sankhya. On the latter were based the two heterodox religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism which denied the authorities of the Vedas and opposed the Brahmanic caste system and ceremonials. Still more heterodox was the materialistic philosophy of the Charvaka school which went further and denied even the fundamental doctrines common to all other schools of thought in India—viz. the belief in the transmigration of the soul ( জন্মান্তরবাদ ) and the belief in salvation ( মুক্তি or নির্দ্ধাণ ) or release from transmigration.

**Doctrine of Transmigration of the soul :** All creatures must reap the fruit of their actions ( অদৃষ্টবাদ ) It is by the merit ( পুণ্য ) or demerit ( পাপ ) of their own actions that creatures undergo different existences ( পুনর্জন্ম ) from the highest to the lowest ( আশ্রমভেদ পর্য্যন্ত ) and *viceversa*. Actions are either *niskama* ( with some motive ) or *niskama* ( without any motive ). All motiveless works ( নিষ্কামকর্ম ), done with the single idea that it is one's duty ( কর্তব্য ), lead the doer to final beatitude ( মোক্ষ ) in the long run. This state of perfect bliss or emancipation ( মোক্ষ ) is attained when one has his perfect knowledge roused

up ( উদ্ধৃত ) He is then free from all re birth ( পুনর্জন্ম or মার ) and is eternal, fully conscious and full of bliss ( সচ্চিদানন্দ স্বরূপ ) So long as this state of perfection is not attained all creatures have to travel from one life to another according to the merit ( পুণ্য ) or demerit ( পাপ ) earned by their own actions This is transmigration of the soul ( পুনর্জন্ম মার ) This doctrine dates from the time of the Veda The Buddha embraced it in the 6th century B C

## Six schools

### of orthodox philosophy ( আদিক দর্শনানি )

1 The Purva mimansa ( পূর্বমীমাংসা দর্শন ) This system is attributed to sage Jaimini ( জৈমিনি ) It originated before the beginning of the christian era It is concerned with the practical side of the Vedic religion The oldest work on it is the পূর্বমীমাংসা শ্রুত of sage জৈমিনি This system discusses the sacred ceremonies and the rewards resulting from their performance Holding the Veda to be uncreated and existent from all eternity, it lays special stress on the proposition that articulate sounds are eternal ( শব্দো নিত্য ) and on the consequent doctrine that the connection of a word with the thing signified is not due to convention ( সন্ধেত ) but is by nature inherent in the word itself The sutras were commented on by Upaśrsha ( উপাশ্রব ) and later by Sabara Swamīn ( শিবরামস্বামী ) Sabara

Swamin knew the nihilistic school of Buddhism and the idealistic and as such he could not but have a definite theory of the soul as produced from the absolute Brahman ( ব্রহ্ম ) and as existing independently for ever. On the Bhasya ( ভাষ্য ) of Sabaraswamin two different systems were founded, one by Prabhakara ( প্রভাকর, 600 A. D. ) in his Brihati ( বৃহত্তা ), the other by Kumarila Bhatta ( কুমারিল ভট্ট ) about 700 A. D. Kumarila's comment falls into three parts, the slokavartika ( শ্লোকবার্তিক ), the tantra vartika ( তন্ত্রবার্তিক ) and Tuptika ( টুপ্টীকা ). He refutes the doctrine of the omniscience of the Buddha and declares empirical means of knowledge worthless. As a native of southern India he recommends that borrowed words should be given Sanskrit terminations. In spite of vast differences in philosophical doctrine both Prabhakara and Kumarila Bhatta agree in holding with Sabaraswamin that the individual soul ( জীবাত্মা ) in some sense is immortal and they do not accept the doctrine of illusion [The scholar বাচস্পতিমিশ্র set forth Kumarila's views in his তত্ত্ববিন্দু. Of late works the ত্রায়সান্যাবিস্তর of মাধব (14th century A. D. ), the গীতাংসাত্মপ্রকাশ of আপদেব and the অর্থসংগ্রহ of লোগানি ভাস্কর are best known, but of more philosophic interest is নারায়ণভট্ট's মানসেনোদয় (1600 A. D. ) in which Kumarila's epistemology and metaphysics are very interestingly summarised ].

2. The উত্তরগীতাংসাদর্শন (The Vedanta Philosophy) : The Uttaramimansa or the Vedanta philosophy represents a definite gathering up of the philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads in an attempt to frame a

system embracing them all. The Brahma sutra (ব্রহ্মসূত্র) of saint Bādarāyana Vyasa (সি বাহদারায়ান) deliberately leaves out points on which the Purvamimāṃsā of Jaimini has sufficient matter. The doctrine of Bādarāyana evidently directs it self strongly against the Sāṅkhya system and the atomism of the Vaiśeṣika. The doctrines laid down in the Brahma sutra have been fully explained by Śaṅkarācārya (শঙ্করাচার্য্য) in the 8th century A. D. Its epitome is found in the বেদান্তসার of সন্ন্যাস যোগীন্দ্র. The fundamental doctrine expressed in the famous formula—তৎসং অসি (thou art that) is the identity of the individual soul (জীবাত্মন) with God the supreme soul (পরাৎমন). The eternal and infinite Brahman not being made up of parts or not being liable to change the individual soul (জীবাত্মন) cannot be a part or emanation of it but it is the whole indivisible Brahman. As there is no other existence but Brahman the Vedānta is styled অদ্বৈত ব্রহ্মবাদ (or doctrine of nonduality; i. e. an idealistic monism). The evidence of experience which shows a multiplicity of phenomena and the statements of the Veda which teach a multiplicity of souls are brushed aside as the phantasms of a dream which are only true till waking (উত্তরণ) takes place. The ultimate cause of all such false impressions is অবিজ্ঞা or innate ignorance. It is on account of our innate ignorance (অবিজ্ঞা) that we cannot recognise this world as mere illusion (মায়) . This universe is really a mirage (মৃগতৃষ্ণা) which the soul under the influence of desire (তৃষ্ণা) fancies it perceives just as the panting hart sees before it sheets of



water in the fatamorgana ( নক্সরৌটিকা ). The illusion vanishes as if by a magic when the scales fall from the eyes on the waking of true knowledge ( তত্ত্বজ্ঞান ). Then the semblance of any distinction between the soul ( জীবাত্মা ) and God ( পরমাত্মা ) disappears and মোক্ষ ( moksha ) the primary end of man ( পরমপুরুষার্থ ) is attained. Two forms of knowledge ( বিজ্ঞা ) are distinguished here, one higher ( পরা বিদ্যা ) and another lower ( অপরা বিদ্যা ). The former is concerned with the higher, impersonal Brahman ( পরমাত্মন ) which is without form or attribute ( অরূপ, অগুণ ), while the latter deals with the lower and personal Brahman who is the soul of the universe and grants salvation [ The doctrine of nonduality and illusion. This view is preserved for us in a definite shape in the Mandukya Karikas of গোড়পাদ who was the teacher of গোবিন্দ, the teacher of the great শঙ্করাচার্য্য. The full defence and exposition of the doctrine of illusion with its insistence on অদ্বৈত ( absence of any duality ) is due to Sankaracharya ( 788—820 A. D. ) Sankara's অদ্বৈতবাদ in the শারীরবভাষ্য of the ব্রহ্মসূত্র has been clearly explained by পদ্মপাদ in the পঞ্চপাদিকা, by হরেশ্বর in the নৈষ্কর্ম্যসিদ্ধি, and by বাচস্পতি মিশ্র in his ভাস্করী. মাধব, in his পঞ্চদশী, written in part with ভারতীতীর্থ, and জীবনুজ্জিবিবেক definitely supports Sankara's views. The বেদান্তসার of সদানন্দ shows the elaborate confusion of Sankhya tenets with the Vedanta and the বেদান্তপরিভাষা of স্বর্নরাজ is only a manual of the modern school. ]

**Ramanuja** ( বামাত্মজ ) : A very different view of the Upanishads and the Sutra is presented by Ramanuja,

who died about 1137. Son of Keshava and Kalpanika he studied at Kanchi under the Advaita ( অদ্বৈত ) philosopher Ramanujacharya, but abandoned his teaching for that of Vishvanathar whom he succeeded as head of a Vaishnava ( বৈষ্ণব ) sect and at whose request he wrote his *Shruti* on the Brahma Sutra. Amongst other works he wrote a *Gitopaniṣad* attached in the *Deva* in the illusion theory summarised his *Upanishads* in the *Deva* and gave a convenient summary of his doctrine in the *Deva*. His views were defended against those of Shrivatsar in the *Deva* of *Shrivatsar* and expounded in the *Deva* of *Shrivatsar*. Ramanuja claims to represent a long tradition citing the *Deva* the *Deva* and *Deva* and *Deva* who was known to Shrivatsar and he relies on the *Deva* as revealing the true doctrine of the Sutra. In essentials he differs from Sankara, if in a sense there is an absolute whence all is derived the individual souls and matter still have a reality of their own and the end of life is not merging in the absolute but continued blissful existence. This state is to be won by faith ( *Shraddha* ) in and devotion ( *Bhakti* ) to God. His view of matter permits him to adopt largely the Sankhya principles. No other comment can be compared in importance with those of Shrivatsar and Ramanuja the former representing the most sustained intellectual effort of Indian thought the latter representing a theory of the world which has many similarities to the popular christian belief and which may actually have been affected by christian thought.

মধ্বাচার্য্য ( Madhwacharya ) or আনন্দতীর্থ ( Ananda-tirtha ) . More distinct is the dualism of Madhwa-charya or Anandatirtha ( 1197 1276 A.D. ) who commented on seven of the important upanishads, the Gita, the Brahmasutra and the Bhagavata Purana, while a number of independent tracts, including the ভক্ত-সংখ্যান, set out his principles briefly. What he insists on is the existence of five fundamental dualisms ( দ্বৈত ), whence his system derives its name ( দ্বৈতাদ্বৈতবাদ ), as opposed to the অদ্বৈতবাদ of Sankara and the বিশিষ্টাদ্বৈতবাদ ( qualified nondualism or the nonduality of that which is qualified ) of Ramanuja. A summary of the views of মধ্বাচার্য্য is given in the মধ্বাচার্য্যমতসংগ্রহ of শ্রীনিবাস

বোম্বাইনিষ্ঠ: It is not much distinguished from the Vedanta and is reputed as an appendix to the Ramayana, dealing with all manner of topics including final release. The জৈমিনিভারত is intended as a text book of a Vaishnava sect. The Vedanta at last comes down to three classes, the একবেদান্ত, the বৈষ্ণব-বেদান্ত and the শৈব-বেদান্ত and the last was the source of the tantra schools.

### Logic and Atomism.

3 and 4. Logic and Atomism ( ত্রায়দর্শন, বৈশেষিকদর্শন ) : The impulse to logic ( ত্রায় ) is found in the investigation of the Purva-mimansa school. The beginnings of the Nyaya sutra ( ত্রায়সূত্র ) are ascribed to Gotama ( গোতম ) 500 B.C., while true Nyaya is ascribed to অক্ষপাদ ( 150 A.D. ). The ত্রায়সূত্র, as we have it, is a compilation representing earlier thought. The বৈশেষিক-

সূত্র is like-wise more or less contemporaneous with the সূত্র. The সূত্র gives us a logic, while the বৈশেষিক represents a naturalistic view which finds in atoms (অণু) the basis of the material world, but both sutras accept in some measure the view of the other কণাদ, the alleged author of the বৈশেষিক সূত্র is a nickname and the সূত্র shows much unevenness of composition. It believes in the real activity of the soul (denied by the Vedanta of শঙ্কর) holds the effect to be different from the cause the qualities from the substance and accepts atoms. The question of the original view of the two sutras as to God is disputed, both saying very little on the topic. The সূত্রসূত্র found an expositor in পদ্মিন্যামিন্ বাসভাশ্যন who wrote the সূত্রভাষ্য before the Buddhist logician দিগনাগ উত্তোভকর ভাষ্যভাষ্য in his সূত্রভাষ্যিক (620 A D) defended Vatsyayana and explained the sutra and Bhashya. A further comment on this work was written by বাচস্পতি মিশ্র (850 A D) in the সূত্রভাষ্যিকভাষ্যপরিচয় on which উদয়ন in the 10th century wrote the ভাষ্যপরিচয়. উদয়ন in his সূত্রভাষ্যিক proved the existence of God. দিগনাগ the chief of the Buddhist logicians lived about 400 A D. A definite step in the history of the সূত্র was marked in the ভাষ্যভাষ্য of the great scholar গবেশ (1200 A D) in four books expounding the means of proof with subtlety permitted in the Nyaya and at the same time incidentally interpreting the metaphysics of the school. His principal commentator was Raghunatha Siromani (রঘুনামনিরোমনি) 1500 A D, on whom গদাধর commented (1700 A D).

and মথুরানাথ. In 16th century the Sanskrit schools ( specially of জ্ঞানদর্শন ) of নবম্প্রজ formed the centre of intellectual life in India. The বৈশেষিক সূত্র was taken up and given new life by প্রশান্তপাদ in his প্রদীপ্তধর্মসংগ্রহ, which is not a commentary on the sutra but a completely new exposition of the subject-matter of the বৈশেষিক সূত্র with additions of importance. A commentary on his work, the জ্ঞানকন্দলী of ত্রিপুর belongs to 991 A. D. We find in him the same view of theism and the addition of non-existence ( অভাব ) as a seventh to the six বৈশেষিক Categories substance ( দ্রব্য ), quality ( গুণ ), action ( গতি ), generality ( সাদৃশ্য ), particularity ( বিশেষ ) ( whence the name of the system is usually derived ) and inseparable relation ( i. e. inherence মধক ) under which it classed all coherence. উদয়ন also wrote a comment, কীরণাবলী, on প্রশান্তপাদ's ভাষ্য and an independent text, the বন্ধনাবলী.

5 and 6. সাঙ্খ্য and যোগদর্শন ( Sankhya and Yoga systems). While the বেদান্ত is a direct descendant of the Upanishad-discussions, and the systems of logic ( জ্ঞান ) and atomism ( বৈশেষিক ) do not go out of their way to challenge orthodoxy, and ultimately adopt more and more the authority of the scripture, the Sankhya ( সাঙ্খ্য ) system in its original form marks a break with tradition. In place of the absolute of the Upanishads, the Sankhya postulates an infinite number of spirits ( পুরুষ or আত্মন ) and it divorces matter ( প্রকৃতি ) from the absolute, ascribing to it the power of evolution. Consciousness is explained by some form of contact between spirit ( পুরুষ or আত্মন )

nod matter ( *प्रकृति* ) and release ( *निर्वाण* ) is attained when the unreality of any connection between the two is appreciated. The most important contribution to human thought made by the Sākhya philosophy is the conception of three *guṇas* (constituents) pervading nature ( *प्रकृति* ) and soul ( *पुरुष* ) alike. Here the Sākhya traces its basis to the Upanishads where water ( *अप* ) fire ( *अग्नि* ) wind ( *वायु* ) ether ( *क्षेत्र* ) and earth ( *पृथ्वी* ) are the fundamental elements derived from God or pervaded by Him. The founder of the Sākhya philosophy was Kapila. The Kapila sutra was gradually interpreted by Āsuri and Pañchajanya charya. The *Śāṅkhya-sūtra* of *देवदत्त* with the commentary *साङ्ख्यसूत्रटीका* of *श्री १६* is the most popular treatise on the Sākhya philosophy. *विज्ञानसिद्धि* (usually called *विज्ञानेश्वर* ) in his commentary of the *साङ्ख्यसूत्र* seeks to deal with the Sākhya not as opposed to the Vedānta but as representing one aspect of the truth of that system. His *साङ्ख्यसूत्र* is a brief introduction to the topic. The *Yoga* philosophy is closely allied with the Sākhya system. It tells us of the application of the will on the concentration of the mind whence it denotes concentration ( *ध्यान* ) and if the concentration aims at union with a deity as it may often have done, the sense may have come to be that of unity the result being put for the effort. The object of *Yoga* was primarily to secure by practices of repression of the breath, sitting in certain postures and deep concentration magic powers. It was developed under the Sākhya influence, the only

real difference being that the Yoga insists on finding a place for the deity as the 26th principle in addition to the 25 of the Sankhya. This spirit is in constant connection with subtle matter and possesses power, wisdom and goodness. The যোগ is thus the theistic Sankhya, while the সান্ধ্য appears to be non theistic. Both Sankhya and Yoga in fusion with Vedanta ideas appear largely in the epic philosophy, in the Puranas and the lawbook of Manu. The যোগবৃত্ত is ascribed to saint Patanjali and its যোগ ভাষ্য to saint ব্যাস. The Yoga system is therefore also called পাণ্ডুল-দর্শন. ভোদরাজ's ব্যাসভাষ্য is an important comment on the Sutras. For information in detail regarding practices of যোগ, we must refer to হঠযোগপ্রদীপিকা of স্বামীজি. other texts are the গোরক্ষশতক and the শ্বেতাসংহিতা.

### Heterodox or heretic Philosophy.

1. Buddhism. The Buddha and his pupils taught in Pali i.e. the spoken Prakit. It was the মূলদর্শন-বাদিন্ who from the first period of their activity adopted Sanskrit as the language of the school and we have fragments of their canons from the উদানবর্গ, ধর্মপদ, একোত্তরাগম and মধ্যন্যাসম as well as the বিনয় texts. Much more important is the মহাবঙ্গ, a বিনয় text of the লোবোত্তরবাদিন্ school of the মহান্যাসিক which presents us with a partial Buddha biography including many জাতক stories of the Buddha in previous births. In its account of the ten stages through which a বোধিসত্ত্ব must move to achieve Buddhahood it reveals a new

attitude The *নগ্নভবিত্তর* gives a biography of the Buddha altered in the sense of the Mahayana development of Buddhism The book is full of miracles It is written in prose in Sanskrit with verse portions in mixed sanskrit Its spirit of reverence of the Buddha corresponds to the artistic revolution of the গন্ধার্য art revealing the portrait of the Buddha The *মহাবানপ্রস্থোৎপাদ* of অরখোষ is more simply philosophical and develops a very complex system of thought in which the influence of the Brahmanical absolute appears distinctly operative The *অবদান* are numerous In addition to the *অবদানচক* and the *দ্বিবিদ্যাবদান* we have *দ্বাবি শতাবদান* a collection of 22 tales in prose with verses *ভট্টকল্পাবদান* 34 legends in verse, and *ভ্রতাবদান* 111 a collection of legends to explain certain ritual vows In *কাব্য* style we have the *অবদান কল্পলতা* of polymath ক্ষেমেন্দ্র of Kashmir the 108th tale being added by his son সোমেন্দ্র with an introduction Of the *মহাবান* ২৫৯ proper the *মহাবানুত্তরীক* occupies the most prominent place It is in prose with mixed sanskrit verse sections Of more philosophical content is the *লকাবতার* ২৫ in which nihilistic and idealistic doctrines are found The *দশভূমীদর মহাবানুত্তর* deals with the ten stages to Buddhahood The *সমাধিরাহ* deals with meditation The *প্রজ্ঞাপারমিতা*s merely assert that intelligence the highest of the perfections (*পারমিতা*) of the Buddha consists in the recognition of the vacuity (*শূন্যতা*) of everything The *মাদ্যমিকনুত্তর* of নাগার্জুন brings out the views of the *প্রজ্ঞাপারমিতা*s far better He was a Brahman of the south and contemporary of অরখোষ



To নাগার্জুন are attributed also দর্শনসংগ্রহ and সুবুদ্ধি. The বিজ্ঞানবাদ school is represented by অশ্বিন'স বোধিসত্ত্বজিনি, part of the বোগাচারজিনিশাস্ত্র and the মহাবান সুবোধিসত্ত্ব in verse with comment. Asanga's brother বসুবন্ধু wrote গাণাসংগ্রহ and the অভিধর্মকোশ of which we have যশোনিব'স ব্যাখ্যা in Sanskrit which is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of the tenets of the দর্শাস্তি-বাদিন্ and other schools of the Hinayana. His পরমার্থ-দৃষ্টান্তি is an attack on the Sankhya system.

2 Jainism : Jain philosophy, originally written in Prakrit, was driven by the advantage of Sanskrit to make use also of that language and in the তত্ত্বার্থাধি-গনসূত্র of উমাস্বতি ( Umaswati ) we find in sutras and commentary a very careful summary of the system. দশমস্কন্ধ wrote in the 7th century the আশ্বমীমাংসা on which অকলঙ্ক commented. শুভচন্দ্র'স জ্ঞানার্ণব belongs to 800 A.D. To দক্ষকীর্তি in the 15th century we owe তত্ত্বার্থানুগোচর which contains a full account of the দিগম্বর sacred books. The Jain contribution to philosophy lies in the effort to solve the contrast between what is abiding and what passes away by insisting that there is an abiding reality, which, however, is constantly enduring change. But any serious development of metaphysics was prevented by the necessity of accepting as given the Jain traditional philosophy which could not be rationalised.

**Buddhism and Jainism :** On the Sankhya philosophy are based the two philosophical religions of Buddhism and Jainism. Their fundamental doctrine is that life is nothing but suffering. The cause

of this suffering is the desire based on ignorance, to live and enjoy the world. The aim of both is to redeem mankind from the misery of mundane existence by total annihilation of desire, with the aid of renunciation of the world and practice of unbounded kindness towards all creatures. These two religions are so very similar that the Jains or adherents of Mahavira ( ५ । १० ) were long looked upon as a Buddhistic sect. Both the religions deny the existence of an eternal supreme deity.

३ Charvakas ( चार्वाक ) or Lokayatas ( लोकायत ) — Materialists existed in early India and were condemned by Buddhists and Brahmans alike. They have no works and we have only summaries of their doctrines by their opponents. There is of course no doubt that works were current under the name of चार्वाक. The term चार्वाक applied to it may have been due to a teacher of that name or be an abusive nick name from a famous infidel. The लोकायत or चार्वाक school was peculiarly heretical, for it not only rejected the authority of the Vedas and Brahmanical ceremonies but denied the doctrines of transmigration and salvation accepted by all other systems. To this school matter is the only reality. Soul, according to this school is nothing but the body with the attribute of intelligence. चार्वाक the founder of the चार्वाक school held the soul to be created when the body is formed by combination of the elements. The true nature of things is the cause from which all phenomena proceed. On the moral side, the system is pure

hedonism, for the only end of man is here stated to be sensual pleasure and nothing else.

**The eclectic movement**—It is a doctrine that combines সাংখ্য, যোগ and বেদান্ত ( Sankhya, Yoga and Vedanta ) together, the oldest literary representative being the শ্বেতাশ্বতর উপনিষদ্ (Swetaswatara Upanishad). More famous is the শ্রীমদ্ভগবদ্ গীতা ( the gita ) in which the supreme being incarnate as Krishna ( কৃষ্ণ ) expounds to Arjuna ( অর্জুন ) his doctrine in this sense, the burthen of his teaching being that the zealous performance of his duty is a man's most important task to whatever caste or creed he may belong. There is a close resemblance between the bhakti doctrine proclaimed in the Gita and the christian ideas. From an inscription on a stone column found at Besnagar near Bhilsa, we know that in the second century B.C. even a Greek had adopted the Gita creed.

**Historians of Philosophy** . There is no regular history of Indian philosophy, the most that was achieved was the grouping of systems by reason of their similarities and accounts of contending views based on the desire to prove by this means the superiority of some doctrine or other. The common view of six orthodox systems grouped in pairs, (1) Purva mimansa and Vedanta, (2) Sankhya and Yoga and (3) Nyaya and Vaisheshika, because they accept the Veda as authoritative, is not very early. In the সর্বদর্শনসিদ্ধান্ত-সংগ্রহ we find accounts of the লোকায়তিক, the Jain system, the Buddhist schools, মাধ্যমিক, যোগাচার, মোক্ষান্তিক and বৈভাষিক, বৈশেষিক, ন্যায়, পূর্ব-

মীমাংসা ( both of শ্রুতবাদের and স্মৃতিবাদের schools ), সাঙ থা পাতঞ্জল ( or Yoga ) and Vedanta ( of different schools ) The সর্বদর্শনম গ্রন্থ deals with the systems arranged from the point of view of relative error The সর্বমতম গ্রন্থ sets three vedic schools against three non vedic describes Jain Buddhist and materialist views and then sets out বৈশেষিক and জায় as তর্কশাস্ত্র the theistic and atheistic স ন্থ and মীমাংসা and সন্দেহাস্ত as মীমাংসা

## Lecture 9

### MEDICINE ( আয়ুর্বেদ )

**Development of Indian medicine** The আয়ুর্বেদ or বৈজ্ঞানিক, science of the doctor par excellence is an উপাঙ্গ of the অথর্ববেদ and has eight topics major Surgery minor surgery healing of disease demooology childrens diseases toxicology clixirs and aphrodisiacs Patanjali proves the early cultivation of the science in Sanskrit by mentioning বৈজ্ঞানিক along with the অশ্বিনী and ইতিহাস পুরাণ and বাক্যবাক্য আত্রেয় কান্তপ হারীত অগ্নিবিশ and ভেড় were the sages who gave instruction on আয়ুর্বেদ Amongst the sages আত্রেয় is declared to have been the founder of the science The illustrious চাণক্য is also credited with writing on medicine. Buddhist tradition talks of জীবক a pupil of আত্রেয় as an expert on childrens diseases The বিনয়পিটক and other texts speak of a wide knowledge in elementary medicine surgical instruments the use of hot baths

&c. The oldest of the extant Sanhitas is the Charaka Sanhita ( চারকসংহিতা ) of চরক who was a physician of king Kaniksha ( কণিক্ষ ) whose wife he cured in a critical case. It is said to have been revised and enlarged by দৃবণ, a Kasmirian, son of Kapilabala of the 8th century. সুশ্রুত ( Susruta ) is equally famous with Charaka and is named with আশ্রয় and হারীত in the Bower manuscript, while the মহাভারত represents him to be a son of বিশ্বামিত্র and নাগাজুন is credited with having worked over his text. চক্রপাণি-দত্ত's commentary of the 11th century on সুশ্রুতসংহিতা is well known. The older commentaries of ভৈষ্যট, গয়দাস and চক্রপাণি দত্ত have all been supplemented by the comment of Dallana ( ডল্লন ) of the 13th century. মাধব নিদান is the last treatise on medicine. Later medical works :

(1) অষ্টাঙ্গ সংগ্রহ of বুদ্ধবাগ্‌ভট, (2) অষ্টাঙ্গহৃদয়সংহিতা of বাগ্‌ভট, (3) রুগ্‌বিনশ্চয় of মাধবকর, son of ইন্দুকর, ( is an important treatise on pathology ) (4) চিকিৎসা-সারসংগ্রহ of চক্রপাণি দত্ত on therapeutics (1060 A. D ), and (5) ভাবপ্রকাশ of ভাবমিশ্র (16th century). Historically important is the branch of Indian literature dealing with the merits of metallic preparations of which quick-silver ( পারদ or রসেশ্বর ) ranks first in importance. রসরত্নাকর of নাগাজুন, রসার্ণব, রসহৃদয়, রসরত্নসমুচ্চয় of বাগ্‌ভট and রসেন্দ্ৰচিন্তামণি of রামচন্দ্র are very important texts. There was a profound difference between the Greek and the Indian enumeration of bones in the body. But Greece borrowed from India the use of several medicinal plants.

## Lecture 10

## Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics

1 Pre scientific period In India thought on astronomy was ever mixed with those on astrology and mathematics In vedic period we find very little sign of astronomical study The year is reckoned vaguely and the 27 nakshatras ( lunar stations ) are of dubious origin At the close of the vedic period we have elaborate works on the calendar evinced in the sutras and summed up in the জ্যোতিষবেদাঙ্গ preserved in two versions for the ঋজুবেদ and the Rigveda We find here a calendar arranged on the basis of a five year yuga with a 366 day year notices of the position of the sun and moon at the solstices and at new moon ( অমাবস্যা ) and full moon ( পূর্ণিমা ) with regard to the nakshatras ( constellations ) Some further development is found in the গাণ্ডীয়াসংহিতা and the বুদ্ধগর্ভসংহিতা The Jain text chiefly the স্বর্গশ্রবণ is of this type But all these texts seem to be ignorant of the mean motions of the sun and moon yet they contribute to the scientific period two ideas of great importance the conception of great যুগ during which a complete change of the heavenly bodies is carried out so that a new yuga ( যুগ ) begins with all of them in the same places as the preceding yuga and the conception of the lunar day ( তিথি ) which is a 30th part of a synodical month Distinctly interesting results were attained in geometry as a result

of the care taken in the measurement of altars. The results of these measures are enshrined in the Sulbasutras ( ৩৮২৬ ) 200 B. C. ). They are concerned with the construction of squares and rectangles, the relation of the diagonal to the sides, the equivalence of rectangles and squares and the construction of equivalent squares and circles. We find the Pythagorean problem stated in general.

2 **The period of Siddhantas** Barahamihira ( 530 587 A. D ) has preserved in his পঞ্চসিদ্ধান্তিকা information of the contents of five siddhantas of an earlier date. Two of these siddhantas bear non-Indian names, the ব্রহ্মসিদ্ধান্ত and the পৌলিশসিদ্ধান্ত. The স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত asserts that it was revealed by স্বর্গ to মনু অশ্বর in ব্রহ্মক. The ব্রহ্মক adopts not the Indian যুগ system but one of its own, namely the Metonic period of 19 years multiplied by 150 which gives the smallest যুগ exactly divisible into integral numbers of lunar months and civil days. Further it makes calculations for the meridian of yavanapura ( i. e. the city of the Greeks ) and the Paulisa ( পৌলিশ i. e. of the Paulus Alexandrians ), which does not adopt a constant yuga ( যুগ ), but operates with specially constructed short periods of time. It gives the difference in longitude between yavanapura and Ujjain. Again the Romaka alone of Indian works operates with the tropical revolutions of the sun and moon, while the স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত and the Paulisa deal with sidereal revolutions. The স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত shows the process of adaptation of the new science to Indian ideas. It accepts the Kalpa system and gives a

general role for the equation of the centre and its full treatment of eclipses contrasts with the meagre rules of the Romaka and the rough formulae of the Paulisa. The division of the ecliptic into the lomiories ( लोमोर्य ) yields to that into the signs of the zodiac ( राशिचक्र ) with names from the Greek. The motions of the planets neglected hitherto come to be explained by the doctrine of epicycles, the notion of parallax and methods of calculating it were introduced, new methods of calculating eclipses appeared, the heliacal rising & setting of heavenly bodies was studied, specially with astronomical reference, correct measurements of day and night were achieved, the length of the year was revised and the names of the planetary week days were introduced. Here we find in the Paulisa as also in the other Siddhantas an important contribution to trigonometry in the shape of a table of sines (which appears to have been borrowed from Ptolemy's table of chords differing from him by dividing the radius into 120 parts while Ptolemy divided it into 60 parts) and thus enabling the value given for the chords to be taken over bodily for the sines of half the angles. It is in अथर्ववेद alone that we find the radius as 3438 with the necessary change of sine values. The exact mode and date of the introduction of these Greek elements according to Whitney fell in a period before the syntaxis of Ptolemy, for it was Ptolemy alone who first took into account the anomalies in planetary motions dependent on the distance of the planet from the sun and its distance from the apsis. The



Vasistha ( বাসিষ্ঠ ) and the Paulisa siddhantas took note of planetary anomalies. The old and original স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত shows us a specifically Indian reaction ; it accepts where it thinks fit the new matter, but it fits it in as far as may be with the old. It reveals in the theory of Kalpas, restores the pre-eminence of mount Meru at the north Pole, finds room for the নক্ষত্র and so on. None of the Siddhantas which Barahamihira had before him has come down to us in its original form. We know that ভট্টোৎপল had before him a Paulisa so changed as to render the retention of the same name anomalous. The পৈতামহ-সিদ্ধান্ত of বরাহমিহির differed little from the prescientific period. It differed from the স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত forming part of the বিষ্ণুস্মৃতিতত্ত্বপুৰাণ on which ব্রহ্মগুপ্ত's খুটব্রাহ্মসিদ্ধান্ত is based and from the একসিদ্ধান্ত or শাকল্যসিদ্ধান্ত, all of which present the orthodox modern doctrines. The রোমকসিদ্ধান্ত was touched up by লাট ( 505 A D. ) and was later revised in the modern sense by ত্রীসেন who wrote after লাট and before একগুপ্ত. The বাসিষ্ঠসিদ্ধান্ত appears before ব্রহ্মগুপ্ত's time to have been revised by বিজয়নন্দি and then by বিষ্ণুচন্দ্র. The স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত we have now is in many respects modernized from the original by লাট according to Alberuni

Before the discovery of the পঞ্চসিদ্ধান্তিকা, the credit of introducing new ideas into Indian astronomy was given to আর্যভট্ট of কুস্তমপুর ( 476-525 A D. ). We have of him only the আর্যভট্টীয় in the shape of 10 stanzas in আর্য্য verses, the দশগীতিকাসূত্র wherein he gives his numerical notation, and the আর্য্যষ্টশত ( in 108 আর্য্য

verses ) divided into the গণিত ( 33 stanzas on mathematics ) 25 stanzas on measurement of time ( বালজিহ্বা ), and 50 stanzas on the sphere ( গোল ) His other works are lost He does not advance much beyond the old স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত and his views often agree with those of Paulisa But his was the first work to show a distinct chapter on mathematics in relation to astronomy and his division of astronomical topics was quite effective It was he who first held that the earth is round and rotates on its axis which was not approved by বরাহমিহির nor ব্রহ্মগুপ্ত He did not believe in the height of Meru he equated the four Yugas and he ascribed eclipses ( not to the operation of রাহ ) to the moon and the shadow of the earth for which he has been severely censured by ব্রহ্মগুপ্ত From a second আর্ধ্যভট্ট we have আর্ধ্যসিদ্ধান্ত dated about 950 A D In addition to গাট and আর্ধ্যভট্ট বরাহমিহির mentions সিংহ প্রহর and বিষয়নামিন্ His work lay mainly in the field of astrology ( ফলিতজ্যোতিষ ) but his গণসিদ্ধান্তিকা is of very high historical importance He declines to accept conjunctions of planets as explaining eclipses Brahmagupta ( 598 A D ) son of জিহ্ব of Bhilmalla near Multan was the author of the ব্রাহ্মসিদ্ধান্ত or স্বর্গসিদ্ধান্ত ( 628 A D ) In 665 he wrote গণখণ্ডক a karana i e a practical treatise giving material for astronomical calculations In his সিদ্ধান্ত he attacks severely অর্ধ্যভট্ট Like আর্ধ্যভট্ট he excelled in Mathematics and a chapter of his সিদ্ধান্ত is devoted to the mathematical solution of astronomical problems To Bhoja is ascribed the রাহগণক a karana of 1042 A D and the ভাষ্যভট্ট,

a karana, by শতাব্দী, begins its reckoning from A.D. 1099. Far more important is the সিদ্ধান্তশিরোমণি of ভাস্করাচার্য, written in 1150 A.D. It falls into four parts, the লীলাবতী and বীজগণিত, containing the mathematical parts, and the গ্রহগণিত and গোল, containing astronomy proper. In the গোল there is a section on astronomical problems, a treatise on astronomical instruments, and a description of the seasons. His বঙ্গব্ৰহ্মসূত্র dates from 1178 A.D. His attitude is that of the স্বর্য়সিদ্ধান্ত and ব্রহ্মসুত্র, but he is clear and precise, while his commentary makes his ambiguous phrases quite intelligible.

**Mathematics :** ( 1 ) আর্ধ্যভট্ট was the first to insert definitely mathematical section in astronomy. He deals with involution and evolution, area and volumes. After a semi-astronomical section dealing with the circle, shadow problem &c. he proceeds to progressions and algebraic identities. After dealing with examples he proceeds to indeterminate equations &c. His notation is unique. (2) Brahmagupta's work covers the ordinary arithmetical operations, square and cube roots, rule of three, interest, progressions, geometry including treatment of the rational rightangled triangle and the elements of circle, elementary mensuration of solids, shadow problems, negative and positive quantities, ciphers, surds, simple algebraic identities, indeterminate equations of the first and second degrees in considerable detail, and simple equations of the first and second degrees. Special attention is given to cyclic quadrila-

terals (3) গণিতসারসংগ্রহ of মহাবীরাচার্য of the 9th century under the Rashtra kuta king অমোঘবর্ষ Though fuller the book is more elementary than that of ব্রহ্মস্পতি It gives many examples of solutions of indeterminates and introduces geometrical progressions and deals with eclipses (4) ঐশ্বর in his ত্রিশতী deals with quadratic equations in addition (5) The লীলাবতী of ভাস্করাচার্য, based on ঐশ্বর's work and the work of ব্রহ্মস্পতি includes permutations and combinations and indeed it is the most systematic account of Indian algebra Here the author teaches mathematics to his widowed daughter Lilavati who afterwards turned out to be one of the greatest mathematicians in India

**Astrology (ফলিতজ্যোতিষ)**—That the celestial bodies exercise influence on the fate of men and that the future can be foretold from their aspect is a very early belief in India Whether it appened independently in India or it was borrowed from Babylon is still to be ascertained In the Brahmanas and the smtras we find recognition of the idea of a lucky star and the Dharma smtras demand that the king shall have an astrologer just as he has a house chaplain, while the অর্থশাস্ত্র ranks court heralds the servants of the chaplain and astrologers among the lower court functionaries In war an astrologer was essential to foretell the result from the signs and to encourage the army and terrify the enemy The Buddhists denounce the occupation বরাহমিহির whose great work ( ব্রহ্মস্পতি ) caused all the older texts on astrology to disappear mentioning অসিতদেবল,

গর্গ, বৃদ্ধগর্গ, নারদ and পরাশর amongst authorities. We have still fragments of the বৃদ্ধগর্গসংহিতা or গার্গীসংহিতা. বরাহমিহির divides the science of Jyotis (জ্যোতিষ) into three branches. The first, the astronomical and mathematical foundations, is called ৩৩, the next, হোরা (hora), deals with horoscopes (ফোলা), the third, সংহিতা (Sanhita), covers the sphere of natural astrology. The বৃহৎ সংহিতা of বরাহমিহির is the greatest authority on astrology (কলিত জ্যোতিষ). পৃথ্বশাস, son of বরাহমিহির, wrote a হোরাষট্‌পঞ্চাশিকা on nativities, on which ভট্টোৎপল commented. ভট্টোৎপল himself wrote a হোরাশাস্ত্র in 25 verses.

## Lecture 11.

### SANSKRIT DRAMA (রূপক)

**Origin of Sanskrit drama** (1) Indian tradition of the origin of dramatic literature: Tradition in Smt Bharata's Natyasastra (নার্য় নাট্যশাস্ত্র), the oldest text on the theory of drama, claims for it a divine origin and a close connection with the sacred Vedas. Creation of this new form of literature was reserved to the silver age (চতুর্থ যুগ), when the gods approached Brahman (the all father, and prayed to him for production of something to give pleasure to the ears and the eyes alike, a fifth veda which might be shared by

all alike (irrespective of caste and creed) Brahma gave ear to the prayer and designed to fashion a veda in which historical chronicles should be combined with instruction in all the ends of men. He took from the Rigveda the element of recitation from the Sama veda song from the Yajurveda the mimetic art and from the Atharva Veda sentiment. He then bade Viswakarma the divine architect, build a play house in which the divine sage Bharata was instructed to carry into practice the art thus created. The gods accepted with joy the new creation. Siva contributed to it the tandava dance (ভাওর নৃত্য) expressing strong emotion and Parvati, his spouse the tender and Voluptuous dance, lasya (লাস্য), while Vishnu was responsible for the invention of the four dramatic styles, essential to the effect of the play (i.e. the four rūpās called ভাৰ্য্যী শাস্ত্রী, ব্যাসটী and কৈশিকী). To saint Bharata fell the duty of transferring to the dvārāṇī (i.e. Hindusthana) this celestial Veda in the form of the নাট্যশাস্ত্র. According to বিশ্বকর্মান the stage must be two storied (দ্বি-তল) and either ellipsoidal (বিভূজ, বৃত্তাকার) rectangular (চতুর্ভুজ) or triangular (ত্রিভুজ, ত্রিকোণ). The length of the stage may be either 108 cubits or 64 cubits or 32 cubits. All incidents relating to the gods (দেব) and the people of paradise (দেব নিবাসিন) are to be represented on the upper floor and the rest on the ground floor.

**Dialogues.** From the dialogues in the Rigveda & their commentaries we may fairly assume that the period of the Rigveda knew dramatic spectacles,

religious in character, in which the priests assumed the roles of gods & sages in order to imitate the events of paradise. Ethnology shows us the close relation of music, dance & drama among many peoples. According to Dr. Hertel the hymns represent the beginnings of dramatic art, which may be compared with the form of the GitaGovinda. The vedic ritual did not consist merely of the singing of songs or recitations in honour of the gods, it involved a complex round of ceremonies in some of which there was undoubtedly present the element of dramatic representation i. e. the performers of the rites assumed for the time being personalities other than their own. In the মহাব্যুত we find elements which are of importance as indicating the materials from which the drama developed. Of many elements which enter into drama we find the songs of the সঙ্গবেদ and the use of ceremonial dances

**Religion & drama:** original dramas were religious. They owe their origin to the national epics. Krishna plays an important part in early dramas The part of Rama chandra in the growth of the drama was not less important than that of Krishna. The religious importance of the drama is seen distinctly in the attitude of the Buddhists towards it. The dramatic performances described in the Harivansa (हरिवंश) support the theory that it was originally connected with the Krishna-cult. Saint Bharata was the author of the science of dancing and vocal and instrumental music—all these

three being the elements of the drama. He is said to have learnt it from Brahman and played it before Siva. The poet Bhavabhuṭi (ভবভূতি) makes saint Valmiki (বাল্মীকি) a contemporary of saint Bharata. Again the Harivamsa speaks of a নাটকীকৃত-রামায়ণ the authorship of which is attributed to Valmiki by Bhavabhuṭi in his Uttara Ramacharita (উত্তররামচরিত). The original নাটক of saint Bharata still remains undiscovered. The অর্থশাস্ত্র ascribed to him is most probably a later digest bearing to the original sutra some relation as the কামন্যৌষধীশাস্ত্র bears to the কোটিলীয় অর্থশাস্ত্র recently discovered.

**The epics on drama.** There is no express mention of any drama in either the Ramayana or the Mahabharata.

**Grammarians on drama.** In Panini we find mention of নাটক (nata sutras) text books for natas ascribed to Silalin (শিলালিন) & Kṛishna (কৃষ্ণাশ্ব) the fact being recorded because of the formation of the names assumed by their followers শৈলালিনস and কৃষ্ণাশ্বিনস. In the ব্যাকরণ of Patanjali we find from his criticism on a rule laid down by কাত্যায়ন as to the use of the নত of things which a person has himself seen that it was normal to use in his time phrases describing a past event as if it had occurred before the eyes of the speaker in dramatic representation. We get the names কামন্য and বলিবহন by way of illustration.

**Different theories on the origin of drama**

(1) Profs. Hillebrandt and Konow are of opinion that originally there existed a popular mime which



with the epic, lies at the bottom of Sanskrit drama. (2) Prof. Pischel holds that the puppet-play is the source of Sanskrit drama and that drama has its home in India, whence it has spread over the world. In his opinion the shadow-dramas ( छायाङ्क ) were the original dramas. (3) Prof. E. B. Hoerwitz is of opinion that the Indian drama originated from the ancient custom of reciting the national poems at social and religious gatherings. (4) Prof. Ridway, on the other hand, holds that there can be no doubt that the desire to honour the great has been from the earliest times the leading factors in the origin of the Hindu drama. Thus, according to him, the Hindu drama, like the Hindu epic, had its origin in ballads composed in honour of the actual exploits of famous men. According to Prof. Macdonell, the earliest forms of dramatic literature in India are represented by those hymns of the R̥gveda which contain dialogues. The origin of the acted drama is wrapped in obscurity. The dance ( नर्त ) probably represented the beginning of the Indian drama. It must have at first consisted only of rude pantomimes in which the dancing or movement of the body was accompanied by mute gestures of the hand and face. Songs, doubtless, early formed an ingredient in such performances. The addition of dialogues was the last step in the development. According to Prof. Windische the New Attic Comedy which flourished from 340-260 B. C. must be deemed the source of influence on Indian drama. From Peripplus it is known

that Alexandria under the Lagidai became a great centre of Greek learning and that bet Alexandria and Ujjayini through the port of Barygaza there was a brisk exchange of trade which might have aided in intellectual contact. More value attaches to the argument from the use of शकुन्तला ( or in prakrit चकुन्तला ) for the name of the curtain which covered the tiring room and formed the background of the stage. Another value attaches to the argument from the use of the term शकुन्तला or Greek maidens used as body guards of the kings in Sanskrit dramas. Besides the points of resemblance in regard to the plot are of interest. There is some similarity between the stock theme of the शकुन्तला the love theme of a king for a maiden hindered by various obstacles and finally successful through events which reveal her as a princess destined for him in marriage but concealed in this aspect by some accident) and the new comedy picture of the youth whose affection for a fair lady apparently of status which forbids marriage by Attic law but in reality of equal birth is finally rewarded by the discovery of the mark which leads to her identification. The use of a mark of recognition is undoubtedly common in both dramas ( Mark the ring of recognition in चकुन्तला and the seal of Raksha in the शकुन्तला ) These are striking facts and the only way to meet them is to show that the motifs in Sanskrit drama have an earlier history in the literature and can be regarded as natural developments. The characters of the drama present

problems which are not solved by the theory of borrowing. Prof Windisch lays most stress on his comparison of the three characters of the বিটে, বিদূষক, and শক্য with the parasite, the servus, currens and the miles gloriosus of the Greek drama and his arguments are altogether not without great weight. It is true that these three, with the বৃদ্ধশ্রী and his assistant, are given by the নাট্যশাস্ত্র in a list of actors and that the five correspond fairly closely with the male personnel of the Greek drama. It is also true that, while কালিদাস and the মুচ্ছকটিক with the চারুদত্ত know the শক্য, he vanishes from the later dramas and the বিটে shows comparatively little life, suggesting that the Greek borrowings were gradually felt unsuited to India and died a natural death. But the argument is inadequate to prove the borrowing. The বিটে is, indeed, more akin to the parasite than to any other character of the Greek or Roman comedy, but the parasite is lacking in the refinement and culture of his Indian counter part, who is clearly drawn from life, the witty and accomplished companion who is paid to amuse his patron, but whose dependence does not make him the object of insolence and bad jokes. The বিদূষক has his origin in the religious drama, his Brahman caste and his use of Prakrit can best thus be explained. The similarity between the শক্য and the miles gloriosus is by no means small, but the argument from borrowing is refused by the reflection that such a figure can be explained perfectly easily from the actual life of India in the period of

Bhasa and the যুদ্ধকটিক when mercenary soldiers must have been painfully familiar to Indians. The number of actors is certainly not in accord with the Greek practice. The অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তল has 30 the মৃত্যুভঙ্গিম 24 and it is only in the later and less inventive ভবভূতি that we find but 13 in the মালতীমাধব and 11 in the উত্তররাশিচরিত. The prologue ( প্রস্তাবনা ) in both dramas serves the purpose of announcing the author's name the title of the play, and the desire of the dramatist for a sympathetic reception but the Indian prologue is closely attached to the preliminaries and has a definite and independent character of its own in the conversation between the স্বয়ম্বর and the নলী ( his wife ) the chief netress so that borrowing is out of the question. There is similarity between the protagonist and the স্বয়ম্বর for both undertake the leading parts in the drama but this and other minor points are of no value as proofs of historical connection. More recently the tendency to find Greek influence in the making of the Sanskrit drama has turned to the mime which was performed without masks and huskins as was the Indian drama. Moreover the mime had a curtain ( siparium ) comparing with the curtain of India. There was no scene painting in the mime different dialects were used and the number of actors was considerable. The zelotypos in the mime has some similarity to the শকট and the mokos in the বিদূষক. But they are no positive proofs on behalf of Greek influence in the making of the Sanskrit drama.

The Sakas and the Sanskrit drama Prof.

Levi holds that the rise of the Sanskrit drama is to be attributed to the शक whose advent to India was one of the causes of the rapid decadence of the Greek principalities in the north west. The theory is based on a general view of the elevation of Sanskrit to the rank of the language of literature, as opposed to its restriction to use as the learned and sacred language of the Brahmans. The inscriptions show that Sanskrit as an epigraphic language was introduced by Rudradaman whose Girnar inscription of 150 A. D. is wholly in Sanskrit, though Sanskrit appears in part in Ushavadatta's inscription of A.D. 124. The Western Kshatrapas, of Saka origin, were, he holds, the first to bring Sanskrit down to earth, as contrasted with the Hindu and orthodox Satakarnis of the Deccan who retained Prakrit in their inscriptions down to the third century A. D. The character of the शक may be regarded in this light, in its hostility to the शक it reveals a period when either a prince was opposed to the शक rule or the शक dominion had just fallen and was fresh in the minds of the people. A specific connection between the शक and the creation of drama may be seen in the terminology of the नाट्यशास्त्र and that of their inscriptions. But the discovery of Aswaghosha's fragments shows that the drama has already attained a very definite and complete form. Thus the theory that the western kshatrapas introduced Sanskrit into the drama falls hopelessly to the ground on chronological considerations alone. The error owes its origin to

the belief that the drama developed as a prakrit drama before it was turned into Sanskrit. But from the *বহাভাষ্য* we know that the Sanskrit Kavya and drama existed before the existence of any Prakrit Kavya or drama. The discovery of Aswaghoshas fragments undoubtedly brings the creation of the drama at least very closely up to time of *latanjali* if not earlier. The first century B.C. can with fair certainty be assumed to be very late period for the appearance of genuine Sanskrit drama.

**The evidence of the Prakrits** That the drama was also in part in Prakrit from the outset seems extremely probable. The mere recitation of the epic indeed did not demand any intervention of Prakrit but that such recitations by themselves would produce a true drama is most improbable and we may legitimately hold that it was only the union of these recitations with action from the religious contest that produced the drama. In that contest the lower classes were represented and they spoke their own language. In the vedic *বহাভাষ্য* we can not suppose that the *শূদ্র* who contested the right of the Vaisya to the symbol of the sun spoke in Sanskrit nor that the Brahman and the hetaira exchanged their ritual abuse in the classical tongue or its vedic antecedent. The religious festival in which *কৃষ্ণ* appeared as slaying Kamsa must similarly have demanded the use of vernacular dialects by the humbler members of those who took part in it. The fact that *প্রাকৃত* appears mainly in the dialogue Sans

krit preeminently in verses, strengthens the view that the new drama derived its verse in the main from the epic recitation, its prose dialogue from the religious contest. As to the use of the different types of প্রাকৃত in the drama, the শৌরসেনী was the language of the বিদূষক, the betaera and of those who were born in আৰ্য্যাবৰ্ত্ত, the মহারাষ্ট্রী had the honour of being the language of verses sung by maidens who would in prose speak শৌরসেনী. মগধী and অৰ্দ্ধমগধী were the dialects of the porters and other servants.

**Literary antecedents of the drama :—**The drama owes in part its origin to the epics of India, from them it derives largely its inspiration. From the epics also developed the Kavya, the refined, polished court epic. The predominating sentiment is the erotic (শৃঙ্গার), the heroic (বীর) or occasionally that of calm (শান্ত), other sentiments appearing in a subsidiary role (অপ্রধানভাবে). The subject-matter is to be taken, either from tradition or not, but the heroes must be virtuous. The work begins with a prayer (নান্দী). The development of the plot employs five junctures (মহিমা), and one or other of the four aims of man (পুরুষার্থ) wealth (অর্থ), love (কাম) performance of duty (ধর্ম) or emancipation (মোক্ষ) is to be attained by the action. It is on account of love of description in the epic that the verses in the drama are often overwhelmingly descriptive. A further source of literary inspiration in the drama must undoubtedly be seen in the work of the lyric poets

## Lecture 12

## DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

1 **Aswaghosha and Buddhist Drama** ( অস্বঘোষ and বৌদ্ধদ্রম ) The discovery of fragments of manuscripts on Palm leaf at Turfan has through the favour of Prof Luders revealed to us the existence of at least three Buddhist dramas (1) Sariputra Prakarana ( শারিপুত্র প্রকরণ ) of Aswaghosha son of সুবর্ণালকী ( Suvarnalakṣī ) The full title of the work is শারদ্বতীপুত্র প্রকরণ ( Saradwatīputra Prakarṇa ) and it is complete in 9 acts It deals with the events leading to the conversion of the young Maudgalyayana ( মৌদগল্যায়ন ) and Sariputra ( শারিপুত্র ) by the Buddha It is a প্রকরণ ( a social drama ) corresponding to the classical type as laid down in the Nāṭyaśāstra of saint Bharata (2) The allegorical and the hetaera dramas The same manuscript has also fragments of two other dramas There is no evidence of their authorship other than the fact that they appear in the same manuscript as the work of Aswaghosha and that they display the same general appearance as the work of that playwright The first of the two represents the type of the allegorical drama প্রবোধচন্দ্রোদয় of Krishna Miśra We find the allegorical



figures of Buddhi ( wisdom ), Kirti ( fame ) and Dhriti ( firmness ), appearing and conversing. This is followed by the advent of the Buddha himself. But for this mixture of the real and the abstract ideal we have to go beyond Krishna Misra, who represents all his characters as abstract ideals ( Vishnu for instance by Faith in Vishnu ) to Kavikarnapura's glorification of Chaitanya in the 16th century, in which allegorical figures are mingled with Chaitanya and his followers, though they do not actually converse together. The characters speak Sanskrit, but the fragments are too short to give us any real information on the general trend of the play. The drama has a hetaera named Magadhavati ( মগধবতী ), a Vidushaka named Komudhagandha ( কোমুদগন্ধ ), a hero styled only Nayaka ( নায়ক ), but probably named Somadatta ( সোমনদত্ত ), a dushta ( দুষ্ট ) i.e. a rogue, without further name, a certain ধনঞ্জয় ( Dhananjaya ), who may possibly be a prince ( উর্দ্ধদায়ক ), a maid servant and Sariputra and Maudgalyana. The drama was undoubtedly intended for purposes of religious edification, but what we have is too fragmentary to do more than show that the author was possessed of humour and that the Vidushaka was a hungry soul. The drama has many points of similarity with the মুচ্ছকটিক and shows close agreement with the classical model.

2. Bhasa. Kalidasa in his first drama মালবিকাগ্নি-  
মিত্র ( Malavikāgni Mitra ) refers to Bhasa with Sau-  
milla ( সৌমিল্ল ), Kaviputra ( কবিশূত্র ) and others as his.

predecessors in dramatic art whose fame renders difficult the acceptance of his new drama who was still then an untried hand Banabhatta at the beginning of the 7th century A D, states (in his *हर्षचरित*) that Bhasa obtained fame by his dramas. A century later Vakpati (in his *चण्डिका*) declares his pleasure in Bhasa. Kujn ekhara (900 A D) places him amongst the classical poets Bhasa's dramatic works first began to be published by श्री गणेश Ganapati Sastrin in 1912 and still now we have got only 13 works of the dramatist It is quite difficult to arrive at a precise determination of Bhasa's date That he was an illustrious predecessor of Kalidasa is quite certain His dramatic works so far as we have got up to date are—(1) *मध्यमव्यायोग* (*Madhyamavyayoga*) in one act his a reminiscence of the tale of the love of the demoness Hidimba (*हिडिम्बा*) for Bhimsenn the second of the 5 Pindaras, and their marriage which had *घटोत्कच* (*Ghatotkacha*) as issue inspite of the partition of the parents (2) *दुता घटोत्कच* (*Duta Ghatotkacha*) is also a *vayayoga* indicating primarily a military spectacle Here Ghatotkacha appears before the jubilant Kauravas on the unfair death of Abhimanyu (*अभि द्यु*) in the Kurukshetra war as an emissary of the Pandavas and predicts their punishment at the hands of his uncle Arjuna (3) of the same general type is the *कर्णभारा* (*Karna Bhara*) in one act which deals with Karna's armour (*अस्त्र*) won from the great *शत्रुघ्न*, with which he was making himself ready for a fight.

with Arjuna, when he was deprived of it by Indra, who appeared before him in the guise of a Brahman and obtained from him his armour and earrings. Karna with Salya (शल्य) the lord of the Madra country as his charioteer went out to battle and the sound of Arjuna's chariot was heard. (4) উরুভঙ্গ (Uru-bhanga) in one act is a drama with regard to the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana, greatest of the Kurus, ending in the breaking of the thigh of the latter, who falls in agony. (5) The পঞ্চরাত্র (Pancha-ratra) in 3 acts is a drama in which there are more heroes than one and they more or less attain their ends, which seem to be the chief features of that dubious kind of play called সমবাক্য (Samavakara). It reflects the period when efforts were being made to save the Kurus and the Pandavas from the fatal conflict which ends in the ruin of the former and grave loss to the latter. Dronacharya undertook a sacrifice for Duryodhana and sought as the fee the grant to the Pandavas of half the realm to which they had a just claim. Duryodhana promises on condition that they are heard of within 5 days. (6) দূতবাক্য (Duta Vakya) is a Vyayoga in one act. It deals with the fact of Krishna's failure in emissary before Duryodhana for bringing about peace between the Kauravas and the Pandavas through a proposal of partition of the kingdom. (7) বালচরিত (Balacharita) presents us a picture of the feats of Krishna, culminating in the slaying of Kansa. It is a drama in 5 acts. (7) The Pratima nataka (প্রতিমানাটক) in

7 acts describes the plot of the Ramayana from Ramachandra's exile to his return to Ayodhya by the aerial car পুষ্পক (Pushpaka) (8) The 7 acts of the প্রতিমা নাটক are matched by the six acts of the অভিষেক নাটক (Abhisheka natika) the drama of the consecration of Ramachandra which follows like its predecessor the Ramayana. We thus see that the poet took the plot of the Ramayana and composed two dramas on the same plot (9) অবিহারক (Avimarak) is a drama in six acts with a plot from the Katha literature on the love of অবিহার and কুন্দী daughter of king কুন্তিভোজ (10) প্রতিজ্ঞা যোগন্ধরায়ণ (Pratijña yangandharayana) is a drama in 4 acts taken from the Brihat Katha of Gunadhya with যোগন্ধরায়ণ the minister of the Vatsa King Udayana as the hero (11) The Swapna-Vasavadatta or the Swapnanatak (স্বপ্ন বাসবদত্তা or স্বপ্ন নাটক) in six acts forms in substance the continuation of the প্রতিজ্ঞা যোগন্ধরায়ণ. The fame of the work in রাজশেখর's time is attested, and already before him the imaginary conflagration of the queen had excited the imitation of Harsha in the রত্নাবলী [Indeed The প্রিয়দর্শিকা and its supplement the রত্নাবলী two melodramas (নাটিকা) attributed to King Harsha are brimful of the incidents of the dramas প্রতিজ্ঞা যোগন্ধরায়ণ and the স্বপ্ন বাসবদত্তা or the স্বপ্ন নাটক] (12) Great promise, in a different vein is shown in the চারুদত্ত (Charudatta) of which we have only a fragment in 4 acts without beginning or final verses. The দরিদ্র চারুদত্ত (Daridra Charudatta) mentioned by Abhinavagupta (অভিনবগুপ্ত) is most pro-

bably the same work From it are derived the first four acts of the *মৃচ্ছকটিকপ্রবণ*, attributed to *শূদ্রক*

**Bhasa and Kalidasa :—**The probability of Kalidasa's acceptance of ideas from those of Bhasa, so illustrious a predecessor, is turned into certainty by numerous coincidences between the two. Of course, with such a genius as Kalidasa's, the matter borrowed is transformed and normally improved in the change In act 1 of the *Sakuntala* the king is struck with the elegance of the simple bark-dress of the heroine in keeping with her station as a maiden of the hermitage (*কিম্ ইব হি অধুরাতঃ মণ্ডনং নাকু ঞ্জানাম্*) The germ of this pretty idea is found in the *Pratimanataka* act 1 where Sita playfully decks herself in a dress of bark, evoking the judgment of her friend (*সর্ব-গোভনৌরঃ স্কন্ধং নাম্*) The fact of borrowing is established by the episode in act 1 of the *Sakuntala* of the treatment of watering the garden as an act of penance on the maidens part an idea which occurs in a closely parallel passage in Act V of the *Pratimanataka* In the same act of the *প্রতিমানটিক* we find *রামসঙ্ক* bidding *মৌত্তা* take farewell of the fawns and the trees, which are her foster children, and of her dear friends, the Vindya mountain and the creepers, in the departure of *Sakuntala* from the hermitage the trees and the fawns as well as the creepers share in the grief of her departure, of the deer is expressly used the term 'foster child' found in the *Pratimanataka*. Again in act VII of the *Pratimanataka* Sita is reminded of the distrust felt by the deer in *Bharata*,

just as Sakuntala describes their distrust of Dusshanta (Act V). There is a parallel in the *अश्वमेध* act I where *वासवदत्ता* is received kindly by the lady of the hermitage and thanks her for her courteous words, to the scene at the opening of the *Sakuntala* in which the king assures *Anasuya* that her speech of welcome is sufficient hospitality ( *७५* *तस्मात्* *अहम्* *देव* *पिता* *कृतम्* *अतिथम्* ). The parallel is completed by the instruction given by the chamberlain in *Bhasa's* play to the servant to avoid disturbance to the hermitage with commands of the king to the commander-in-chief. Similar also is the scene in act II of the *अश्वमेध* in which during the play of *अश्वमेध* and *वासवदत्ता* in disguise reference is made to the former's approaching marriage to the talk of *अश्वमेध*'s friends with her in Act I. We have also in Act VI of either play a parallel treatment of the lute lost by *देव* in one case and the ring lost by *अश्वमेध* in the other, the verses in which the innocent objects of censure are attacked being similar in spirit and taste. The motif of the curse of *Durva* is explained in the *Sakuntala*; the sufferings of the heroine suggests the curse of *हताश्वमेध* in the *अश्वमेध* reducing the hero to a humble rank and so the *Sakuntala*; the lovers are reunited at the hermitage of saint *महर्षि* as in the *अश्वमेध* they meet at the abode of saint *पितृ*. But we can not but observe that *Kalidasa's* dramas as they stand do not agree with the rule observed in those of *Bhasa* regarding the beginning of the drama.

D. R. Winarnitz about *Bhasa*. The 13 plays

published by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastrin are works of ଭୀମ as they are works of great poetical merit worthy of the name of Bhasa. ଭୀମ was undoubtedly a great poet and above all a dramatic genius. Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti were no doubt greater poets, greater masters of language than ଭୀମ, but in the whole of Sanskrit literature no drama, according to Dr Winternitz, could compare as a stage-play with any one of the 13 plays ascribed to Bhasa, for all classical dramas are more or less book-dramas, while these 13 plays are one and all the works of a born dramatist wonderfully adapted to the stage.

### Lecture 13.

#### Precursors of Kalidasa.

Precursors of Kalidasa : (1) Bhasa, (2) Saumilla mentioned by Rajasekhara along with Ramilla (ରାଗିନୀ) as co-workers composing a ଶୂଦ୍ରକବ୍ୟ (a tale on the union of the sentiment of love and heroism), (3) Kaviputras were two who were also collaborators like Somilla and Ramilla, (4) Sudraka, author of the social drama ( ଶୂଦ୍ରକବ୍ୟ ) ଶୂଦ୍ରକବ୍ୟ, was a king. The first four acts of the drama had its origin in the ଚାକ୍ରପାଦ-

প্রকরণ of Bhasa To শূদ্রক we can not but ascribe the originality of combining the political and the love intrigue which give together a special value to the play The conception of the science of theft is neatly paralleled in the দশকু ৱিভ where a text book on the subject is ascribed to কণীসুত and the same work contains interesting accounts of gambling which illustrate act II It is a প্রকরণ in 10 Acts

**Kalidasa** Dr A B Keith in his Sanskrit Drama after due consideration of all arguments about Kalidasa's date has at last come to the conclusion that Kalidasa flourished under Chandragupta II of Ujjayini who ruled up to about 413 A D with the style of Vikramaditya ( বিক্রমাদিত্য ) which is alluded to in the name বিক্রমোর্বশীয় while the title of the Kumarasamhva may well hint a compliment on the birth of young Kumaragupta his son and successor The মালবিকাগ্নিমিত্র with its marked insistence on the horse sacrifice of the drama seems to suggest a period in Kalidasa's early activity when the memory of the first horse sacrifice for long performed by an Indian king that of নৃপুত্তম was fresh in men's minds More over the poems of Kalidasa are essentially those of the Gupta period when the Brahmanical tendencies of the dynasty were in full strength and the menace of foreign attack was for the time evanescent Amongst the three dramas of Kalidasa his first play মালবিকাগ্নিমিত্র is a historical drama ( ইতি হাসিক নাটক ) The characters পুষ্যমিত্র অগ্নিমিত্র and বহুজি being taken from the dynasty of the শুদ্র



formed by the first through the deposition of the last  
 গৌর্য in 178 B c. The second play বিক্রমোর্বশী is a  
 melo drama ( ট্রোটিক ) adapted from the Vedas and  
 the Brahmanas. The third play, অভিজ্ঞানশকুন্তল, re-  
 presents the perfection of Kalidasa's dramatic art.  
 The incident from the আদিপর্ষ of the Mahabharata  
 has been adapted to represent a perfect work on  
 dramatic art with full delineation of the poet's own  
 time.

Sanskrit drama was the highest product of Indian  
 poetry and it summed up in itself the final concep-  
 tion of literary art achieved by the very selfcon-  
 scious creators of Indian literature. The drama can  
 not but bear essential traces of its connection with  
 the Brahmins. Emotion is the principal object of  
 exhibition in Indian dramas. The plot is a secondary  
 element in the highest form of the drama ( নাটক ).  
 Kalidasa makes subtle changes in the plot of the  
 Sakuntala, not for the sake of improving the plot as  
 such, but because the attractions are necessary to  
 exhibit in perfection the sentiment of love, which  
 must be evoked in the hearts of the audience. The  
 crudities of the epic left Sakuntala a business-like  
 young woman and Dushyanta a selfish and calcula-  
 ting lover, both blemishes had to be removed in  
 order that the spectator might realise within him-  
 self, in ideal forms, the tenderness of a girl's first  
 affection and the honourable devotion of the king,  
 clouded only by a curse against which he had no  
 power. Tragedy proper is denied in Indian dramas.

and comedy in its highest form is not difficult. The नाटिका and the प्रहसन (प्रहसनावली as well) represent comedy in all forms. The अहसा and ভাগ appeal to the comic sentiment in an inferior form. Limited by nature of intellectual movement Kalidasa has no message for us for the deeper questions of human life. Fascinating and exquisite as is the Saluntala it has been removed far from the cruelty of real life and it neither seeks to answer nor does it solve the riddles of life. Indeed the dramatic art was essentially aristocratic in India and as such the drama was never popular in the sense in which the Greek drama possessed that quality. From an early period we find the distinction of class reflected in a distinction of language culture being reserved largely for the two higher classes, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas or the ruling class. It was in this rarified atmosphere that Sanskrit drama came into being and it was to literati of high cultivation that its creation from the hints present in religion and in the epic was due.

The Indian view on Kalidasa. We have absolutely no trustworthy information regarding the personal history of Kalidasa. The poet has studiously observed utter silence about himself in his works. He was the least of an egotist that it was possible to be. His poetical works alone stand as an immortal monument of his surpassing poetic excellence. We have to content ourselves with what we can gather about the poet from external

sources and a few incidents found here and there in his works which have a distant bearing upon the history of his life. A time-honoured tradition associates the name of Kalidasa with that of king Vikramaditya of Ujjain. The keen interest and filial love with which the poet describes the Mahakala, the Sipra and the other beauties of Ujjayini unmistakably point to the conclusion that he must have been a native of that city. Again the various covert references to the name of Vikrama in fully eulogistic terms which were undoubtedly meant to immortalise king Vikramaditya are inexplicable if that monarch be not regarded as the patron of the poet. The poet also betrays considerable acquaintance with court-life in his works. This, as well as no allusion to the goddess of wealth having ever frowned upon him, shows that he was in affluent circumstances and had not the misfortune ever to drink the bitter cup of poverty. By caste he was a saraswata Brahman and was a devout adorer of Siva, but not a sectarian at all. He seems to have travelled a good deal all over India. His graphic description of the Himalayan scenes looks very much like that of one who was an eye-witness ( Unlike Bhavabhuti ) he appears to have enjoyed great popularity during his life time. In spite of his warm admiration of pleasures he was never an unscrupulous voluptuary as is clearly evident from the many noble sentiments expressed in the Sakuntala. It also appears from the same play that he was against love-marriges though always actuated

with the most generous sentiments towards the fair sex His works bear further testimony to his considerable acquaintance with the Vedas the philosophy of the Upanishads the Bhagavadgita the Sūkhya, the Yoga and the Vedānta as propounded by Vyasa, medicine and the rudiments of astronomy Beyond these few facts nothing is known about the poet

**Works of Kalidasa** —The poet's silence about himself in his works gave opportunity to many uncrupulous inferior poets to father their own works upon him The following are notable amongst the works attributed to him —(1) ঋতুসংহার (2) কুমারসম্ভব (3) রঘুব (4) মেঘদূত (5) অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তল (6) বিক্রমোর্কশী (7) মালবিকাগ্নিমিত্র (8) ঐতরোদ (9) শূদারাতলক (10) শূদারসংগ্রহ (11) সেতুবন্ধ (12) নলদায়দয়, (13) পুষ্পবাগবিলাস (14) জামলাদণ্ডক (15) দ্বিচন্দ্রিকা and (16) জ্যোতির্বিদ্যভরণ Amongst these the first seven are acknowledged by all scholars to be Kalidasa's works The rest are to be dismissed as productions of some inferior hands Amongst the poems the order of composition was ঋতুসংহার কুমারসম্ভব মেঘদূত and রঘুবংশ, while amongst the dramatic works the order of composition was মালবিকাগ্নিমিত্র বিক্রমোর্কশী and অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তল

**Kalidasa as a poet** —Kalidasa is indisputably the greatest master mind in Sanskrit poetry He has been and will ever be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen as the prince of Indian poets He has also evoked spontaneous outpourings of praise and manifestations of admiration from foreign poets

and scholars who had access to his works either directly or through translations, Goethe has voluntarily bestowed his highest meed of praise on him. About the Sakuntala he says—

“Would'st thou the young year's blossom and the fruits of its decline, And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed ? Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ? I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all at once is said.” As translated from the German by E B, Eastwick In the words of the renowned philosopher and traveller Humboldt—“Kalidasa, the celebrated author of the Sakuntala, is a masterly describer of the influence which nature has upon the minds of lovers, tenderness in the expression of feeling and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations.” The celebrated critic Schlegel has also assigned him a very high position amongst the glorious company of the ‘sons of song’. Sir Monier Williams writing about the Sakuntala says—“No composition of Kalidasa displays more the richness of his poetical genius, the exuberance of his imagination, the warmth and play of his fancy, his profound knowledge of the human heart, his delicate appreciation of its most refined and tender emotions, his familiarity with the workings and counter workings of its conflicting feelings in short more entitles him to rank as the Shakespeare of India.” Professor Lassen calls him the “brightest star in the firmament of Indian poetry.”

Thus we see that his poetic genius has brought Sanskrit poetry to the highest elegance and refinement. His style is pure and chaste. It has neither the laxity of the Puranas nor the extravagant colouring of later poems. It is unartificial and characterised by brevity consistent with perspicuity. An unaffected simplicity of expression and an easy flowing language mark his writings which are embellished with similes unparalleled for their beauty and appropriateness and pithy general sayings. His diction is marked by absence of long compounds involved constructions and over wrought rhetoric and by very few puns. Kalidasa excels other poets in his description of the sublime and the beautiful. His descriptive powers are great and some of the scenes in the Sakuntala the Meghaduta and the Raghuvansa are so charming, nay so enchanting, as to hold the readers spell bound.

**Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti compared —** The only dramatic poet who may be compared with Kalidasa is Bhavabhuti and as a poet on the whole both may be placed as rivals but as a dramatist the palm is certainly in favour of the former. The Uttara Rama charita is the best drama of Bhavabhuti (উত্তরে বাচনিত ভবভূতি বিজিত) These two poets are generally regarded as the leading dramatists in Sanskrit. Both are original poets gifted with genius of the highest order. Both are masters of the natural style of poetry and both are equally happy in their choice of words. But Bhavabhuti's style

is elaborate and generally unnecessarily marked by long compounds. Truly the poet had to yield here to the tendency of the age. If Kalidasa has more fancy and imagination, Bhavabhuti is more sentimental and passionate. Kalidasa excels in depicting the sentiment of love (শুদৃঢ়) while Bhavabhuti is in his element when depicting the sentiments of pathos (কণ্ঠ) and heroism (বীর) Dr. R G Bhandarkar remarks—"K, suggests or indicates the sentiment which B. expresses in forcible language" In the words of Sanskrit rhetoricians K's sentiment (রস) is conveyed (অভিব্যক্ত) by বাক্য or ব্যঙ্গ sense of words while that of B is conveyed by the বাচ্য sense, K's may be described as the synthetical method of poetry as opposed to B's which is analytical Dr Bhandarkar says that Bhavabhuti modelled the love of Madhava and Malati upon that of Dushyanta and Sakuntala But B notices the ethereal side of love more than K Again in the delineation of the sublime side of pathos B. seems to excel K (কাৰুণ্যং ভবভূতির্যেব তত্ত্বং) As a poet of nature and a describer of the picturesque B can not be called inferior to K. K deals with the lovely, the admirable, and the excellent, but B deals with variety and hence often he goes beyond nature Besides B is more a poet than a dramatist, more a philosopher than an actual play-wright, while K, is the master artist with the pen of the perfect dramatist B's works are rather whole নাট্যকাব্যস than নাটকস or প্রকরণস, while K's works are all নাটকস, ভ্রোটকস and pure dramatic works.

**Date of the poet** Tradition mentions Kalidasa as contemporary of king Vikramaditya as one of the nine gems of his court. King Vikramaditya who was an epoch maker founded the era Samvat (१२५) which commenced with 56 B C. The Karur theory, the renaissance theory and the theory of the nine gems all make Kalidasa flourish in the sixth century A D. But recent researches have proved beyond all shade of doubt that the above theories are all false and unfounded. Mallinatha in his commentary of Meghaduta says that Nichula and Dignaga were contemporaries of Kalidasa. But there is no knowing about Nichula nor is there any possibility to decide which of the different Dignagacharyas were meant by Mallinatha there. Mr K B Pathaka argues that since there is no mention of the Hunas in the Ramayana the conclusion follows that Kalidasa unconsciously refers to the Hunas kings of his own time who held sway over the Punjab and Kashmir and specially to Mihirakula who about the year 532-533 A D retired to the Punjab after his overthrow by Yasodharman and Baladitya. But this conclusion rests solely on assumption as there are references to the Hunas even in the Mahabharata. Prof Apte has shown that just beyond Bactria or the threshold of ancient India the Hunas had constituted a powerful empire from the middle of the third century B C to the end of the first or second century A D. Hence Raghu's conquest of the Hunas in the Raghu Vansa can not make Kalidasa flourish in the 6th



century A.D. Bṛhasabhatti, the author of the Māṇḍisikā inscription, imitates several ideas from Kālidāsa; the latter must therefore have lived prior to 172 A.D. the date of the Māṇḍisikā inscription. Again Aśvaghoṣa, the author of Buddhacarita, a Sanskrit epic in 28 cantos, has numerous passages similar to those occurring in the works of Kālidāsa. Now Kālidāsa was an original poet who borrowed his subjects from Vālmīki, Vyasa and the authors of the Upanishads etc., while Aśvaghoṣa was more a philosopher than a poet and may with greater probability be supposed to have borrowed his ideas from the works of Kālidāsa. The date of Aśvaghoṣa is given as 78 A.D. and if we suppose him to have borrowed from the works of Kālidāsa, the latter will have to be placed earlier than 78 A.D. In this view Dr Peterson also concurs when he says, 'Kālidāsa stands near the beginning of the christian era, if indeed he does not overtop it.'

There are also internal evidences pointing to the same conclusion. Let us first refer to the laws of inheritance and the penalty of theft as indicated in the Sakuntala. The passage in act VI of the Sakuntala announcing the death of the merchant Dhanamitra and his dying heirless, seems to Prof Apte to refer to a period when the widows of deceased persons could not inherit their estate. Such a period is to be found only before the christian era, when Manu, Apastambha and Vasistha held sway and Brihaspati,

Sankha Likhita and Yajñavalkya had not yet written their codes. The penalty for theft as indicated in the prologue to act VI seems to have been the extreme one it being the theft of a jewel. [There is also a passage of similar import in the Vil ramor va 1ya V I in which the feathered thief that had stolen away the king's favourite gem is referred to] The penalty for theft has been from time to time mitigated with the progress of civilisation. Manu and Apastamba lay down the extreme penalty the option of fine being introduced later on as we find in the the Smṛiti of Brihaspati. It must not be forgot that the principal duty of a dramatist is to show to the authority how some of the laws of the time are unnatural and stiff and cruel. K refers to the law of debt of his time in act I of the Sakuntala and shows how strict and cruel it is to the debtor. Again Prof Apte points out that there is no reference to the Nyaya philosophy in Kalidasa's works (except in Raghū XIII I in which the word दण्ड—अदण्ड occurs but which the author borrowed from the Sankhya) and concludes that K must have lived before the development of the original Nyaya philosophy. Then there comes the evidence of style. The artificiality of diction and the fondness for long compounds and double meanings of words which mark the writings of Dandin Banu Bhatta, Bhavabhuti and other mediaeval writers are entirely absent in Kalidasa a fact which clearly shows that he must be placed some six or seven centuries before them.

a period necessary to cause such a revolution in the art of literary composition considering the scanty means of the propagation of learning in those times. From the few facts stated above it is abundantly clear that Kalidasa lived in the first century Bc at the latest (the upward limit of his date being 300 Bc according to some critics)

**General remarks about the Abhijnana-Sakuntala:—**It is a love drama and belongs to the 'अनुक' class of drama (अनुक). The plot is taken from the national epic Mahabharata in its main outlines. It displays all the charms of Kalidasa's muse. Its language shows forth all the graces of his style. It is highly elegant and dignified and, where necessary, it abounds in striking and tasty comparisons. It is sublime in the poetical portions without becoming obscure or involved and presents a very charming ease and simplicity in the dialogues without ever descending to vulgarity. No forced construction, no offensive conceit, mars its beauty. The metres are mostly of the shorter kind, very musical and varied, with the sonorous अनुक prominent among them. It is also highly finished from an artistic point of view. The action is progressive and the interest well sustained. The Sakuntala aims at giving a relative picture of the life of the people in a more marked degree than the other two dramas of the poet. [Kalidasa remains the sole unrivalled exponent of the pure classic mode of representing life and thought in the early ages.] The usual expedient

employed by writers in erotic plays (viz the introduction of a rival wife or wives to give variety to the action and add interest to the incident by the unwelcome interruptions in the love meetings of the hero and the heroine) is not made use of in the *Sakuntala*. Another distinguishing feature of the play is the insignificant part assigned to the *Vidushaka* who is so conspicuous in his other two plays. There are also no maid servants introduced in connection with the love intrigue since there is none such mentioned in the play.

**Technical remarks —(1) Dramatic unity —** There is no unity of time and place in the drama the unity present being that of plot alone (II) **Five uniting links (পঞ্চদ্বন্দ্ব) —(1)** The *মুখদ্বন্দ্ব* commences with the presence of king *Dushyanta* (the hero of the *দায়াদাস* type) in act I and ends with *উত্তর পরিভ্রম* (act II). It brings together the hero and the heroine and love strikes root in the heart of both. Their union in marriage is the final object and to achieve it the whole machinery is to be directed. The ground for the seed (*বীজ*) is prepared when the *বৈদ্য* says 'পুত্রম্ এব গুণাপেত চক্রবর্তিনম্ আপ্নুহি' (act I) and it is cast when he further says— 'বানানাম্ এব দুহিতর শত্ৰুলাম্ &c &c.' (act I). (2) The *প্রতিমুখদ্বন্দ্ব* commences with *রাজা*, *মাতব্য*, *অনবাপ্তকুলে হসি* &c &c (act II) and terminates with the close of act III. We have the *বিন্দু* in that the stream of the main action though obstructed by such incidents as the talk about the chase, the double call of duty requiring

the king's attendance on the queen-mother and his presence at the hermitage to ward off the obstacles to the holy rites &c., proceeds unhindered, as implied by the words of the king 'নাথক্য, অনবাপ্তচক্ৰ-ক.বাহিনী &c.' We have the প্রব্রু or the endeavour to the principal end when the king says—"তপস্বিভিঃ কৈশ্চিৎ পরিজ্ঞাতোহস্মি &c" (act II). (3) The গর্ভনদ্ধি takes up the whole of Act IV and extends as far as 'ঐতি যথোক্তং কৰোতি in act V. It consists of the curse of দুর্বাশন which mars the hope of success (প্রাপ্ত্যাশা) which, however, is still present in the words of saint ব্রহ্ম "অভিধনবতো &c. (act IV). (4) অবগর্ভনদ্ধি spreads over the remainder of act V and the whole of act VI Here the certain attainment of desired end (নিয়তাপ্তি) is thwarted by the curse of Durvasas taking effect and the king becoming oblivious of his marriage with শকুন্তলা The way to the final catastrophe, however, is paved by the invitation of Indra. (5) The নিবর্হণ নদ্ধি occupies the whole of act VII, wherein the various diverging incidents converge to one end, viz. the happy union of the king with his queen and son (III) Duration of time of the play: The whole action embraces a period of about six years The first two acts occupy one day each. There seems to be about a fortnight's interval between the events of act II and those of act III, (as indicated by such expressions as সখি, বতঃ প্রভৃতি &c, স রাজষিষেতান্ দিবান্ প্রজাগরকশো দৃশ্যতে), so the love-marriage (গন্ধৰ্ব-বিবাহ) of দুষ্যন্ত and শকুন্তলা must have taken place sometime towards the end of তৈত্তি An interval of about five to six months separates act IV

from act III there being a distance of about fifteen days between the act itself and the বিদ্যুৎ The words of the disciple of ৰুদ্ৰ যাতোকতেহিতশেষঃ &c (IV 2) leave no doubt that he is describing the scene presented by a full moon day morning and that must have been a morning of অশ্বিন This period is sufficient for Sakuntala to give clear indications of her pregnancy and also for saint ৰুদ্ৰ to return home Knn ১১৯ disciples must have reached Dushyanta's palace in about two days (for Hastinapur was about a days journey from Kanwa's hermitage as is implied by the king's words—নানাকর (হুয়াতু) গর &c which gives three days as the time necessary to go to the city and come back ) So the events of act V commence about two days after those related in act IV The প্রবেশ of act VI evidently refers to the incidents of a day after a month or two from the incidents described in act V The act VI opens after a long time in the spring season From act VII it appears that নরকদেব (ভরত afterwards ) was about five to six years old when the king meets him The incidents mentioned in act VI refers to only one day before what took place in act VII (যাতলে অহরস প্রহারোৎসবে পূর্বা দিব্য অধিরোতা নরক- স্বর্গগর্ভ ) Hence the whole time of duration of the play covers about 6 years

**IV Merits of the drama** —[The poet in the first place is the interpreter of Nature's beauty The world is not painted or adorned but is from the beginning beautiful and God has not made some things beautiful, but beauty is the ruling principle of the

universe. This beauty the poet's soul feels and represents in words. The poet is consequently the person in whom the powers of impression and expression are preeminently combined. Mere poetical talents or industry and skill in metre-making do not make a true poet. It is the power vividly to impart the impressions he receives having clothed them with thoughts and ideas of his own that makes a true poet. The poet is next a man of genius. Genius is that mental power and activity which enable their possessor to create new combinations and results. It is a creative and constructive faculty. It is due to this faculty that when the soul of the poet has come to ripeness of thought he detaches and sends forth from its undying creations, its poems and songs, which infix themselves firmly into the hearts of men. Another great faculty which the poet must possess is imagination. The poet Shakespeare says

“The poet's eye in fine frenzy rolling  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from  
earth to heaven ;

And as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name "

The faculty of imagination creates by-laws more closely connected with reason. It has strong emotion as its actuating and formative cause and it aims at results of a definite and weighty character. Inferior

to this higher faculty but almost equally important, is the faculty of fancy. It has for its actuating spirit feelings of a lively, gay and versatile nature. Fancy is also a creative faculty. It does not of course create like imagination, sublime thought but extraordinary thought. Imagination is serious and profound in its nature while fancy is gay and comic in its features. The poet again must be a man of universal knowledge and wide experience. He has a very high and sacred mission to perform. He is the greatest teacher of mankind. In the words of Emerson — 'the poets are liberating gods. They act upon our feelings appeal to them and emancipate them from lowness by refining them and ennobling them.'

The story of the Sakuntala is originally narrated in the Mahabharata is so unromantic and simple in its form that one could hardly imagine that it could be made the basis of the dramatic incidents as woven in the drama which for its plan of execution and the charms of the denouement hardly finds a parallel in the dramatic literature of the world. The prosaic story of the Mahabharata wanting in dramatic elements which give life and effect to a play has been dramatised by Kalidasa with that dramatic skill and mastery over his art which have made him immortal as the Shakespeare of India. Shakespeare has nowhere originated the main plots of his dramas. But in his hands they received life and meaning and made him what he is—the unrivalled master of his art. Kalidasa, too selected a mytholo-



gical love-story to serve as the basis of his drama, fully conscious that such a story would have greater charm for his countrymen. His dramatic genius, aided by his deep dramatic insight, quickly saw that the story though simple and unromantic in its form was preeminently fitted to be the nucleus of such dramatic situations and incidents as would stir up the hearts of his countrymen or rather all men of poetic susceptibility and produce a magical effect upon them. Goethe's words that 'the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted and fed' are literally true as applied to this illustrious drama of our poet. The faculty of imagination enabled our poet to body forth the forms of things unknown, to turn them to shapes and give to airy nothing—(the meagre story of the Mahabharata—) its form and existence. The pursuit of Sakuntala by a bee and her consequent flurry skilfully made the fit occasion for the king to make his appearance (Act I), the seizure of the skirts of her garment by a young deer (act IV), the singing in the beginning of act V which indirectly hints at the forgetfulness of the king of his former wife and which makes him as though love-torn though he could not account for the cause, the unexpected recovery of the ring, the picture of the heroine and the consequent mental agony of the king (act VI), the soliloquy and the swoon of the king on hearing of the death of a rich merchant who died childless (act VI)

these incidents dexterously interwoven in the construction of the play are productions of the fertile

fancy of the poet. The denouement of the drama in all its chief and subordinate parts is so gracefully conceived and sustained throughout that the stage effect in all its various forms is maintained on the audience and the different sentiments possess the soul and keep it completely entranced. There is perfect naturalness about the dramatic incidents; they gently rise up in the progress of the plot and all tend to make it a perfect creation. There is hardly any other drama which is equally faultless in the execution of the plot. The play is in short the climax of the poetic and dramatic powers of the poet. Kalidasa is regarded as a master of smiles and of sweet and musical language. This is sufficiently borne out by the present play. The poet's observation of nature is very vivid and true to life. The highest merit for which Kalidasa is preeminently distinguished is the sublimity of his thoughts. There is nothing common place or vulgar about them. Though the principal sentiment is love we find no vulgarity in the expression of it. It is all pure and sublime and can be read without a blush. [In the writings of Shakespeare the sublimity of thought runs throughout, but there are places where we find so much vulgarity that we cannot but blush to read them. We cannot, however find one instance of vulgarity in the plays of Kalidasa.] No poet, in fact, suggests less readily comparison with Euripides than does Kalidasa. He has nothing of the questioning mind of the Greek dramatist, contemporary of the sophists and eager

enquirer into the validity of all established conventions. In style again he aims at a level of perfection of achievement which was neither sought nor attained by Euripides. If any parallel were worth making Kalidasa would fall to be ranked as the Sophokles of the Indian drama, for as far as any Indian poet could 'he saw life steadily and saw it whole,' and was free from the vain questionings which vexed the soul of Euripides Kalidasa, enjoying a full measure of prosperity in the golden age of India, viewed with a determined optimism all that passed before him in life in strange contrast to the bitterness of the denunciations of existence which Buddhism has set forth as its contribution to the problems of life

V. Another point should be noticed in the poet's *রঘুবংশ* canto VI which may help us in determining the date of the poet. The texts of the slokas run thus :—

অথোরগাখ্যস্ত পুরস্ত নাথং দৌবারিকী দেবসরূপম্ এত্য ।

ইতচ্চকোরাফি । বিনোকয়েতি পূর্বাংশুশিষ্টাং নিজগাদ ভোজ্যাম্ ॥ ৫৯

পাণ্ড্যোহয়ম্ অংসাপিতলমহারঃ কুপ্তাপরাগো হরিচন্দ্রেন ।

আভাতি বালাতপবক্তমান্নঃ সনিধৌরোদগার ইবান্দিরাঙ্গঃ ॥ ৬০

From the above texts we understand that the metropolis of the Pandyas in k's days was the city of *Uragapura* (উরগপুর). Mallinatha of the 14th century without any enquiry writes 'পাণ্ড্যদেশে কাণ্ডকুজ তীরবর্তিনাগপুরে' in interpreting উরগপুর. But antiquarian researches shew that there is no *Nagapura* in the Pandya country. But there is one *Uraiyyur* the most

ancient capital of the colas According to the opinion of the late lamented Prof V Smith the Dravidian people of the south noted in ancient Sanskrit literature, were the kolas the Pandyas, the Keralas and the ceras who always fought amongst one another for political supremacy and sometime one was predominant and sometime another In the *বঙ্গবাহু* we find *চোলপাণ্ড্যবর্ষি* *দ্বার* *ন* *বোঝে* ( Book II 52 35 ) Here we find the kolas and the Paodyns treated as equals In the *Ramayana* we find the Pandyas alone mentioned and not the others ( *বৃক্ক* *কপাটং* *পাণ্ড্যনাং* *গতা* *অক্ষয়* *বানরা* R IV 41 49 ) The Paodyns were then paramount and from the *বঙ্গবাহু* in the *বঙ্গ* *সর্গ* the Pandya king is called the paramount lord of the south ( *বঙ্গবাহু* *বিশ্বাবর্ষ* *বৈশাখ* *দিশ* *স* *তু* *ভব* *দক্ষিণ* ) From history we know that this supremacy of the Paodyns was overthrown by *Karikala cola* about the first century A D *Karikala* is said neglected *Uraiyur* and removed the capital to *Kaeripattanam* After *Karikala* the Paodyns again became supreme in the days of *Nedum selm Pandya* He established the Pandya supremacy about the third century A D but the capital of the Pandys was *Madura*, which continued to be the capital of the Pandya country hereafter The Pandyas were overthrown in the 5th century by the *Pallavas* who became overlords of the south in the 6th and 7th centuries Now when K describes the Paodyns as supreme lords of the south with their capital at *উরায়ূর* ( *Uraiyur* ) he must be referred to the 1st century B C

Had he lived in the 5th century, he must have described his পাণ্ড্য king as lord of Madura. Again Kalidasa does not speak of the পল্লব at all as he had flourished long ago. That the পাণ্ড্যs were the overlords of the south during K's time, we know again from Ragu IV in the description of বসু's. দ্বিখিজয়ঃ He says—

দিশি মন্দারভে ত্রেজো দক্ষিণাং রবেদপি ।

তত্রানুব বযোঃ পাণ্ড্যঃ প্রতাপং ন বিবেহিরে ॥

It is now quite clear without doubt that during K's time the Pandyas with উরুগপুর as their capital were the supreme lords of the south This refers to the 1st century B. C. Hence K flourished in the 1st century B.C. Again in the দিগ্‌বিজয় of বসু, K says that বসু conquered the বনস in Afganistan Now it is quite known that there were no বনস in Afganistan in the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries A.D. as Yavana-kindoms in the North-West of India had already been destroyed by the *Kushanas* It was only in the 1st century B.C. that we had বনস kingdoms in the North-West, both on the East and West of the Indus, As to how হুণস could be in the north of the Indus before the 5th century A.D., we must refer our readers to the মহাভারত where it is distinctly mentioned that the people to the north of India were the *Hunas* and the *Chinas*. There were numerous tribes of the হুণস and indeed they represent the Mangolian tribes to the North of India generally including the Tibetans In short the realms of the North of India are always known to India as চোণ্ডহুণ-নিষেবিতদেশ. Hence to place K. in the 1st century

BC the date of the Samvat era cannot be wrong

**Three dramas of Kalidasa** —(1) **Malavikāgnimitra** (मलविकाग्निमित्र) was unquestionably the first dramatic work of Kalidasa. He seeks in the prologue (প্রস্তাবনা) to excuse his presumption of presenting a new play when tried favourite such as Bhasa, Saumilla and the Kaviputras exist and in the Vikramorvarsiya (বিক্রমোর্বশী) also he shows some diffidence, which has disappeared in the অভিজ্ঞানশকুন্তল. The great merits of the poet are far less clearly exhibited here than in his other plays. It is a historical drama in five acts performed on a spring festival at Ujjayini. It is a love drama of the type of the poet Bhasa on the theme of Udayana. The বিক্রমোর্বশী (Vikramorvarsiya) was his second dramatical work. It is a melodrama of the type of ত্রোটক (trotaka) and the theme is that of the love of king Pururnvas and the celestial nymph (অপসর) Urvashi. The অভিজ্ঞানশকুন্তল the poet's last dramatic work, certainly represents the perfection of Kalidasa's art and may justly be assumed to belong to the latest period of his work. Besides three dramas Kalidasa was the author of the ঋতুসংহার cycle of the seasons (undoubtedly his first work) on lyric poetry while his master lyric was the মেঘদূত or cloud messenger. His two master pieces on epic poetry were the রঘুবংশ in 19 cantos and the কুশাসত্ত্ব in 17 cantos.

**Chandra or Chandraka**—The Buddhist drama লোকানন্দ (Lokananda) has been ascribed to him and

Kalhana places him under Tunjina of Kashmir Nothing more is known about him

**Harsha :** Three dramas, as well as some minor poetical works, have come down to us under the name of Harsha, the king of স্বান্বীশ্বর and কাশ্মীর who reigned from 606 to 648 A.D., the patron of Banabhatta, who celebrates him in his historical prose-romance হর্ষচরিত, and of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang who is our most valuable source of information on his reign. That the three plays, প্রিয়দর্শিকা, নাগানন্দ and রত্নাবলী, are by one hand is made certain in part by the common ascription in a verse in the prologue mentioning Harsha as an accomplished poet, partly by the recurrence of two verses in the প্রিয়দর্শিকা and the নাগানন্দ and of one in the former play and the রত্নাবলী and above all by the absolute similarity of tone and style in the three works. নন্দভট্ট in the কাব্যপ্রকাশ refers to the gift of gold to Banabhatta (or Dhavaka in some manuscripts) by Harsha. The commentators explain this of the রত্নাবলী, which was passed off in Harsha's name But I'Tsing clearly refers to the dramatization of the subject of the নাগানন্দ by Harsha and its performance, and in the কুট্টনীমত of দামোদরগুপ্ত ( who lived under জয়শীল of Kashmir, 779—813 A.D., ) a performance of the রত্নাবলী ascribed to a king, is mentioned. Most probably Harsha wrote the dramas himself with such aid as his court pandits might give The প্রিয়দর্শিকা and the রত্নাবলী, are two নাটকস (melo dramas) in four acts very closely connected both in form and subject—

matter the common hero in both being উদয়ন whom Bhasa had already celebrated in his প্রতিজ্ঞাযোগদ্বয় and স্বপ্নবাসবদত্ত (or স্বপ্ননাটক) The নাগানন্দ is a নাটক (drama proper) in 5 acts and is the dramatization of a Buddhist legend the self sacrifice of the Vidyn-dhara prince ভীষ্মভারন first narrated in গুণাঢ্য's বৃহৎকথ্য and then in the বেতালপঞ্চাশতি

**Mahendra Vikramavarman** (মহেন্দ্রবিক্রমবর্মান). Almost contemporary to Harsha was Mahendra Vikramavarman son of the Pallava king শিৱবিজয়বর্মান, and himself a king with the styles of অবনিভাজন গুণ ভর, and মহাবিলাস who ruled in Kaachi in the first quarter of the 7th century A D Chance has preserved for us his মঙ্গল মহাবিলাস, which is so far the only early farce published and which has a special interest in showing signs of the same technique as that of Bhasa

**Bhavabhuti** (ভবভূতি) —He tells us in the prologues (প্রস্তাবনা) of his three dramas (নরসিংহব্রহ্ম, নাট্যমধব and উত্তরায়নব্রহ্ম) that he belonged to the উদুম্বর (Udumbara) Brahman family of Padmapura in Vidarva who were of the Kasyapa gotra and followed the তৈত্তিরীয় school of the Black Yajurveda (কৃষ্ণ-যজুর্বেদ, and that his full name was ত্রিকর্ষ নীলকর্ষ son of Nilakantha and Jatukarni (জাতুকর্ণী), grand son of Bhattagopala He was skilled in grammar rhetoric logic and mimamsa He is said to have been a pupil of Kumarila He expressly mentions his knowledge of the Vedas the Upanishadas Sankhya and Yoga and names জ্ঞাননিধি as his teacher His three plays were performed for the festival of the lord Kalapriya (কাল-



শ্রিগন্য) who is normally identified with মহাকাল of Ujjayini, though the scene of the Malati-madhava is laid in Padmavati. It appears that he left home and proceeded to Ujjayini or Padmavati in quest of fortune. Kalhana in the Rajatarangini expressly asserts, that he was a member of the entourage of Yasovarman of Kanyakubja who was defeated by Muktapada Lalitaditya of Kasmir, not earlier than 736 A. D. The poet বাকপতি in his epic Gaudavaha in Prakrit refers to Bhavabhuti's ocean of poetry. Bana's silence about him suggests that he was not known to him. The first writer on poetics to cite him is Vamana. Verses not found in the extant three dramas are ascribed to him, so he may have written works other than the two dramas on Ramachandra (i.e. the মহাবীরচরিত and the উত্তররামচরিত) and the social drama (প্রকরণ) on Malati and Madhava. His friendship with actors is a trait to which he himself refers and efforts have been made to trace in his works evidence of revision for stage-purposes. Amongst the three dramas of Bhavabhuti মহাবীরচরিত was his first work, মালতীমধব was his second work and the উত্তররামচরিত his last work. Tradition, however, ascribes the composition of the first 4 acts and up to stanza 46 of act V of the মহাবীরচরিত to Bhavabhuti and the rest to স্বপ্নাঙ্ক্যক ব. Bhavabhuti was induced to write his social drama মালতীমধব in an effort to vie with the author of the মুচ্ছকটিক. To make up for his inefficiency in comic composition he gave up boldly the part of the Vidushaka and selected for his theme-

in lieu of comic relief incidents of the terrible and horrible type blended with the supernatural Bhavabhūti was indeed a very learned poet of a high order but either in the *महावीरचरित* or in the *Uttara Ramcharit* he reached no higher level as a dramatist. He had a period of 12 years to cover in the *উত্তরবীরচরিত* as he had 14 in the *মহাবীরচরিত* and to produce effective unity would be hard for any dramatist. The poet made no serious effort to this end. He has contented himself with imagining a series of striking pictures. As a poem the merits of the *উত্তরবীরচরিত* are patent and undeniable. Bhavabhūti's temper was akin to the grand and the inspiring in life and nature. The play blends the martial fervour of Rama and his gallant son with the haunting pathos of fate of the deserted queen and the forests, the mountains and the rivers in the first three acts afford abundant opportunity for his great ability in depicting the rugged as well as the tender elements of nature. What is awe inspiring and magnificent in its grandeur has an attraction for Bhavabhūti which is not shown in the more limited love of nature in Kalidasa. He excels Kalidasa also in the last act for the reunion of Sita and Rama has a depth of sentiment not evoked by the tamer picture of the meeting of Dushyanta and Sakuntala; both Rama and Sita being creatures of more vital life and deeper experience than the king and his woodland love. We find in Bhavabhūti in a degree unknown to Kalidasa child of fortune, to whom life appeared as an ordered

Joyous whole, the sense of the mystery of things, 'what brings things together', he says, 'is some mysterious inward tie, it is certainly not upon outward circumstances that affection rests' Self-sacrifice is a reality to Bhavabhuti. Friendship is to him sacred, to guard a friend's interests at the cost of one's own, to avoid in dealings with him all malice and guile and to strive for his weal as if for one's own is the essential mark of one's true friendship. Admirable indeed is his conception of love. It is the same in happiness and sorrow, adapted to every circumstance of life, in which the heart finds solace, unspoiled by age, mellowing and becoming more valuable as in the course of time all reserve dies away. The child completes the union of conjugal life, it ties in a common knot of union the strands of its parent's hearts.

বিশাখদত্ত and ভট্টনারায়ণ :—A curious Vagueness besets our knowledge of Visakhadatta or Visakhadeva son of Mahārāja Bhaskaradatta (ভাস্করদত্ত) or the minister Prithu (পৃথু), grandson of the feudatory Vateswaradatta (বটেস্বরদত্ত). None of these persons are known elsewhere and for his date we are reduced to conjectures. But whatever the date of the dramatist be, his মুদ্রারাক্ষস (Mudrarakshasa) is one of the great Sanskrit dramas. It is a drama of political intrigue, centred in the person of Rakshasa (রাক্ষস), formerly minister of the Nandas, who is now sworn to revenge their destruction on Chanakya (চাণক্য), the Brahman who vowed to ruin them, and who, in

pursuance of this end secured an alliance between Chandragupta their rival and Parvateswara (পার্বতেশ্বর) or Parvataka and attacked Pataliputra the metropolis of the Nandas Rakshasa seeing resistance vain surrendered the city the last of the royal house, সর্বার্থসিদ্ধি ( Sarvarthasiddhi), retired to an ascetic life and Rakshasa left to weave plots elsewhere His effort by a poison maiden ( বিষকন্যা প্রয়োগ ) to slay Chandragupta miscarried in stead Parvataka fell a victim through Chanakya's cunning This so far aided Rakshasa that Parvatika's son Malayaketu left Chandragupta and is now Rakshasa's ally preparing with the aid of a host of motley origin including the princes of Kuluta Malaya Kashmir Scind and Persia to attack the metropolis Act I shews Chanakya's schemes His determination to secure Rakshasa as minister for Chandragupta for he is convinced of Rakshasa's worth and has no desire himself to rule He learns from his spy Nipunaka that he has found a Jain Jivasiddhi who is ostensibly hostile to the king but is really Chanakya's agent that the scribe Sakatadasa is a real enemy as is Chanadasa the jeweller in whose house are Rakshasa's wife and child that he has by good luck secured the signet ring of Rakshasa (রাক্ষস মুদ্রা-সূত্রায়) *dropped down in pulling indoors the child* Taking advantage of the signet ring Chanakya writes a letter gets it copied in good faith by Sakatadasa and seal it with Rakshasa's seal on the signet ring Sakatadasa is then arrested and on the point of impalement

he is rescued by Siddharthaka, another spy of the minister who flees to Rakshasa. Jivasiddhi is banished in ignominy to the same destination and Chandanadasa is flung into prison to await death for having harboured Rakshasa's family which has scaped. In fine, report of the flight of Bhagurayana and others of the court and receipt of the news by Chanakya with composure, as they are really his emissaries close Act I. Act II. Rakshasa's counterplots In the guise of a serpent-charmer, Rakshasa's spy, Viradhaka reports that the scheme to murder Chandragupta (as he passed under a coronation arch) has failed, while Vairodhaka (বৈরোধক), Malayaketu's uncle (who stayed when his nephew fled and had been crowned as lord of half the realm) has been slain, that Abhayadatta who offered poison to Chandragupta has been forced to drink the draught, that Pramodaka, the chamberlain, has flaunted the wealth sent to him to use in bribes and is now dead in misery, that the bold spirits instructed to issue from a subterranean passage into Chandragupta's bed-chamber have been detected by the king through the sight of ants bearing a recent meal and burnt in agony in their hiding place, that জাবসিন্ধি is banished, শকটদাস is condemned to the stake and that চন্দনদাস is condemned to the same fate. The tale of woe is interrupted by the advent of শকটদাস with সিদ্ধার্থক restoring his seal to বাফস and saying that he had picked it up at Chandanadasa's house He now begs permission to remain in his train. বিবোধক tells him

now that চন্দ্রগুপ্ত is tired of চণ্ডক, At this moment  
রাক্ষস is asked if he will buy some precious jewels  
and he hastily bids শতটাক see to the price quite  
unaware that they are sent by চণ্ডক to entrap him

Act III Chanakya's height of state craft A fine scene  
of mock quarrel bet চণ্ডক and চন্দ্রগুপ্ত on the score of  
the former for bidding all feasting without consulting  
his majesty Chandragupta upbraids Chanakya and  
the minister taunts him with ingratitude and  
insolence, resigns his office and leaves in  
high dudgeon Rakshasa's fortunes seem again fair

Act IV ভগ্নরায় and his party (now in Malya  
ketu's employ under রাক্ষস) tell নগরকর্ত্ত্ব that they  
desire to deal direct with him and not Rakshasa,  
who (they tell him plainly) is no real foe of Chandra  
gupta If চণ্ডক were out of the way there would be  
no thing to hinder his allying himself with Chandra  
gupta নগরকর্ত্ত্ব is perplexed and to his utmost astu  
nishment he overhears a conversation bet রাক্ষস and a  
courier bearing the glad tidings of the split bet the  
king and his minister চণ্ডক when রাক্ষস exclaims with  
high delight that চন্দ্রগুপ্ত is now in the palms of his  
hands ( হৃৎকম্পিত ) which নগরকর্ত্ত্ব misunderstands as  
indicating meditation of an alliance with চন্দ্রগুপ্ত Malya  
yaketu sees রাক্ষস with full suspicion when রাক্ষস  
advises him for advance The act ends with জীবগিহি's  
admission to see রাক্ষস when the former as an astro  
loger advises the latter in a lore which is really  
a presage of disaster Act V জীবগিহি approaches  
ভগ্নরায়, who is entrusted with the grant of  
permits to leave the camp and admits (with feigned

reluctance) in order to get a permit, that he fears রাক্ষস who used him formerly when he was arranging for the poisoning of পর্বতক but now seeks to slay him. Overhearing this, মলয়কেতু is wild with rage সিদ্ধার্থক appears now as a prisoner caught trying to escape without a passport, beaten he gives evidence against রাক্ষস in the shape of the letter in act I written by শকটদাস, which he asserts he was to bear to Chandragupta from Rakshasa, a jewel sealed like the letter, with Rakshasa's seal—one given by মলয়কেতু to রাক্ষস and by him to সিদ্ধার্থক for rescuing শকটদাস and a verbal message stating the terms demanded by the allied kings for their treachery, and রাক্ষস's own demand, the removal of চাণক্য মলয়কেতু sees রাক্ষস with the proofs and the minister, as fate would have it, makes his case worse by assigning to the allied kings the proud duty of guarding মলয়কেতু's person, which মলয়কেতু interprets as a device to facilitate their treachery. Rakshasa is bewildered—in spite of his denial of the message, the seal and the writing are genuine, can শকটদাস have turned a traitor through fear? The fine jewel in the hand of রাক্ষস (one of those purchased in act II) was that of মলয়কেতু's father and it can not but be the price of রাক্ষস's treachery. Incensed, the foolish king gives orders to bury alive those allied princes who craved territory as their reward and to trample under elephants those who sought them as their share. All is confusion and Rakshasa, insolently spared, slips away to fulfil his duty of rescuing his friend চন্দ্রনন্দন.

Act VI Rakshasa in the metropolis is soliloquizing on the failure of all his ends and the fate of his friend Here he learns from one who pretends himself a friend of চন্দ্রদাস (but who is really a spy of চাণক্য) that all his attempt to save his friend runs no chance of success save and except his self sacrifice The net is now firmly cast Act VII চন্দ্রদাস is led to the place of execution with his wife and child beside him the wife determined to die with her husband ব্রাহ্মণ intervenes চাণক্য and চন্দ্রদাস enter Rakshasa at last decides to accept the office of minister pressed on him by both চাণক্য and চন্দ্রদাস when thus alone he can save the lives of চন্দ্রদাস and his friends Malayaketus massacre of the princes has broken the host into fragments and the apparent rebels have taken the moment to capture him and his court As minister Rakshasa is permitted to free যশস্বেকজ and restore his lands, চন্দ্রদাস is rewarded and a general amnesty is approved The scene of Chandanadasa led out to death with his wife and child beside him has been imitated from the মুচ্ছকটিক

Characterization The interest in the action never flags, the characters of চাণক্য and ব্রাহ্মণ are excellent foils Each in his own way is admirable চাণক্য in his undying and just hatred of the Nandas and ব্রাহ্মণ in his unsparing devotion to their cause his noble desire to save চন্দ্রদাস and his fine submission for the sake of others to a yoke he had purposed never to bear The maxims of politics in which



both delight amuse the audience. The plots and counterplots of both ministers are the type of old Indian policy of state-craft. The minor figures are all interesting সিদ্ধার্থক and সনিহার্থক, are gentlemen who even disguise themselves as চণ্ডাল in act VII, to serve চাণক্য's aims, নিপুণক, whose cleverness in finding the seal justifies the name he bears, is a living character, the disguised বিরাধক, the honest শকটদাস and the noble চন্দনদাস and his wife (the single female character in the drama) are all painted life-like. The kings চন্দ্রগুপ্ত and বল্লভকেশু represent the contrast of ripe intelligence with youthful ardour and the weak petulance of one who does not know men's worth and who rashly and cruelly slays his allies on the faith of treachery. ভাগুবায়ণ, the false friend deluding বল্লভকেশু in চন্দ্রগুপ্ত's interest, is a carefully drawn figure. He dislikes the work but dismisses repulsion as essentially the result of dependence which forbids a man to judge between right and wrong. বিশাখদত্ত's diction is admirably direct and forcible. The martial character of his dramas reflects itself in the clearness, and rapidity of his style. As an artist in essentials he uses images and figures of speech with tasteful moderation. He realizes full well that he is writing a drama for play and not composing sets of elegant extracts রাক্ষস's name inevitably demands the usual play on its sense of demoniac, but বল্লভকেশু's feeling redeems the use from triviality ( cf. V. 7 ). The martial spirit of রাক্ষস is admirably brought out in Act II. 14. The

burden of duty is expressed admirably in II 19 The minister's resolve to save his friend is forcibly put in VI 21 There is grim humour in the command of the infuriated Malayaketu 'Those who desired my land take and cast into a pit and cover with dust those two who sought my army of elephants slay by an elephant and in the Chandala's remark when he bids his friend impale Chandana dasa His family will go off quickly enough of their own accord The revelation of জীবগিহি's treachery wrings from Rakshasa the cry "My very heart has been made their own by my foes" The Sanskrit of the drama is classical and the Prakrits number three for in addition to the normal শৌরসেনী and নাহারদ্বী নাগদী has been used by the Jain monk, by সিদ্ধার্থক and গমিদ্ধার্থক as Chandalas, by a servant and an envoy

ভট্টনবায়ণ (Bhattanarayana)—From a tradition preserved in the Tagore family we know that he was one of the Brahmans summoned from Kanyakubja to Bengal by Adisura the founder of a dynasty of 11 kings who ruled before the Pal dynasty Adisura Adityasena son of Madhavagupta of Magadha, was made independent of Kanyakubja by his father and ruled in Bengal towards the last quarter of the 7th century Bhattanarayana chose one episode from the Mahabharata and composed his drama Venisamhara (বেণীস হার) One of the worst of the insults heaped on Draupadi in the gambling scene of the epic is the dragging of her by the hair before the assembly by

Duhsasana ( दुःशर्षणा ), whereupon she vowed never to braid her hair again until the insult would be avenged and the drama concluded with full revenge by Bhimasena. The play on the whole is undramatic, the action being choked by narrative. But the characterisation is good. Horror and Pathos are not lacking. The style is clear and not lacking either in force or dignity. But many of the defects of Bhavabhuti are found in the *नेर्दश*.

Vakpati of the court of king Yasovarman of Kanyakubja was the author of a drama called *রামাভ্যুদয়* (Ramabhyudaya) Anangabharsha Matraraja, mentined by Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, was author of the drama *Tapasa-vatsaraja-charita* ( তাপসবৎসরাজচরিত ) which is a variation on the theme of the ruse of *বৌগন্ধর* to secure the marriage of *বৎসরাজ* and *পদ্মাবতা*, in face of the deep love of the king for *বাসবদত্তা*. Mayuraja was author of the drama *উদাওরাধব*. *পার্বতাপরিণয়*, in 5 acts, once ascribed to *বাভট্ট*, is now allotted to *বামনভট্টবার* (1400 A. D.) *মল্লিবানাক*, a prakarana (social drama) in 10 acts, wrongly thought to be a work of Dandin, is the work of one Uddandin ( উদ্দণ্ডিন ) of the 17th century *ছলিতরান*, referred to by Dhanika in his comment on the *Dasarupa*, with the name of the author unknown, is a Rama drama. *Murari* ( মুরারি )—was son of *শ্রীবর্দ্ধমানক* of the *গৌড়গলাগোত্র* and son of *Tantumati* ( তন্তুমতী ) He claims to be a *মহাকবি* and arrogates the style of *বালবান্নৌকি*. The Kashmirian poet *রত্নাকর* in his epic *হরবিজয়* makes a clear reference to *মুরারি* as a

dramatist The poet mentions माहिसती (Maudhota) on the Narmada as the place of his activity under the Kalachuri monarch आर्घोरा (Aoargho Raghava) is the only dramatic work we get of the author Rajasekhara (राजशेखर)—He was of a Maharashtra Kshatriya family of the Yajurvas who claimed descent from Ramachandra He was son of the minister Durdula or Duhika and of Silavati and grand son of Akalajihda He married अश्वमेधिका of the Cahamika family and was a moderate Saiva His first work कर्णभद्रा, a मूढक in 4 acts in Prakrit was produced at the request of his wife His second work राजाज्ञाना महानाटक in 16 acts was produced at the request of Mahendrapala king of Mahodaya or Kaoyakubja His विद्वत्तल्लिखिता, a regular नाटिका in 4th acts was produced for the Kalachuri king yuvaraja Keyuravarsha of Tripuri His राजाज्ञाना is miserably unfinished It covers the marriage of Draupadi and the gambling scene with the ill usage of Draupadi राजशेखर is devoid of the power to create a character In all his works the author is merely concerned with exercises in style भिमता (Bhimata)—Rajasekhara ascribes 5 dramas to Bhimata of which the स्वप्नोपाख्यान (Swapna Dasavakya) won him chief fame He is described as a Kalaharapati केशमिश्र (Kshemishwara) wrote his चाणक्यिका (Chaandakausika) a drama in 7 acts for king Mahipala of Kaoyakubja He has left two dramas (1) The नैसधान्दा (Naisadhanda) in 7 acts deals with the legend of Nala of the Mahabharata and

(2) the Chandakausika reveals the story of Harischandra, who seeing as he thought the sacrifice of a damsel on the fire rebukes the Kausika Viswamitra and in return for his gallant action is cursed by the sage, who was merely bringing the sciences under his control. He secures pardon by surrender of the earth and a thousand gold pieces. To secure the latter he sells his wife (Saivya) and child to a Brahman and himself to a Chandala as a cemetery-keeper. One day his wife brings the dead body of their son, but it turns out merely to be a trial of his character, his son is alive and is crowned king.

**Decadence of Sanskrit drama** Real merit in dramatic works began to decline with Murari and Rajasekhara. Mahomedan conquest took away the life of drama altogether. The character of decline is obvious in the প্রসন্নবাহব (Prasanna Raghava) a নাটক in 7 acts, in which the logician জয়দেব (1200 A. D.), son of মহাদেব and স্তম্ভিত of Kundina in Berar endeavours to tell again the story of the Ramayana. The play is typical of the later drama. The জানকী পরিণয় of রামভদ্রদীক্ষিত and the অভূতদর্শন of মহাদেব are the worst types of the age of dramatic decline. Of historical drama we have little and of small value (1) The ললিতবিগ্রহরাজনাটক is a drama of the latter part of 12th century by সোমদেব in honour of বীমলদেব বিগ্রহরাজ, the Cahamana (2) The প্রতাপরুদ্রকল্যাণ of বিদ্যানাথ inserted in his work on rhetoric as an illustration of drama, celebrates his patron, a king of warangal about 1300 A. D. (3) The Hammiramada-mardana,

(1219—1229 A D) by चरसिंह दूरी the priest of the temple of मुनिद्वंद्व at Broach, is an interesting drama

Allegorical drama (नाटकप्रकाश) It cannot be said for certainty that the प्रबोध चन्द्रोदय (Prnhodha Chadrodaya) of Krishna misra was a revival of the allegorical drama which had been practised regularly on a small scale since अथर्वशास्त्र The प्रबोध चन्द्रोदय is an allegorical drama in six acts composed in the 11th century by the poet It is devoted to the defence of the अद्वैत form of the Vishnu doctrine i, e a combination of Vedanta and Vishnuism कृष्णमिश्र's example has caused the production of numerous dramas of the same type, but of much less value (1) मदनमोहनाय of Venkatanatha of the 14th century, is excessively dreary, but it is better than the famous (2) चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय of Kavi कर्णभूषण which is an account of चैतन्य's success but which fails to convey any suggestion of his spiritual power (3 & 4) Two शैव dramas are the विष्णुपरायण and जीवानन्दन (towards the close of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries They have no merits (5) महाराज पराक्रम of बसु पाल, son of minister धनदेव and कृष्ण of the Modha Bania caste is again an allegorical drama in 5 acts dealing with the conquest of king Confusion describing the conversion of the Chalukya king of Guzrat Kumarapala to jainism his prohibition of slaughter of animals &c

Natika and Sattaka (1) कर्णभूषण of Bilhana (1080—90 A D), written out of compliment to Karnadeva Trailokyamalla of Anhilvad on the occasion of celebrating his wedding in the advanced age with

Miyanalladevi, daughter of the Karnata king, অরুণকেশিনী. (2) মদনবালসব্বহী, preceptor of the Paramara অম্বুর্নবধন of Dhara, wrote the বিজয়তী or পারিজাতমঞ্জরী, a নাটক in 4 acts which is also a historical drama. (3) বৃষভানুজ of মথুরাদাস, a kaystha, is a নাটক on the love of Krishna and Radha (4) শিবনারায়ণভঙ্করহোদর is a historical, philosophic play of Narasimha in honour of a prince of Keonjhor. (5) আনন্দভট্টরী of ঘনশ্যাম, minister of the Maratha Tukkoji, and the (6) শৃঙ্গারমঞ্জরী of the Almora poet বিশেষ্বর of the 18th century are two Sattakas

**Prakarana** . The example of the মূচ্ছকটিক induced few imitations. (1) The মল্লিকানাগর of Uddandin or Uddandanatha, a court poet of the Zemindar of Calicut (কুছুটকোড়) in the middle of the 17th century, is a very bad and unsuccessful imitation of মালতীমাধব of Bhavabhuti (2) শৌমুদীগিজানন্দ in 10 acts written about 1173—1176 A.D. by Ramachandra, a jain and pupil of Hemachandra, is as প্রকরণ as undramatic as the মল্লিকানাগর. (3) প্রবুদ্ধরোহিণ্য is another jain প্রকরণ in 6 acts by রানভদ্রমুনি, pupil of জয়প্রভাচর্য (about 12th century A.D)

**Prahasana & Bhana** . (1) Latakamelaka (লটকমেলক) of the earlier part of the 12th century under গোবিন্দচন্দ্র of Kanyakubja composed by শঙ্কর কবির্দাজ is a প্রহসন or farce in one act (2) ধূর্তসমাগম of জ্যোতিরীশ্বর কবিশেষ্বর under king নরসিংহ of বিজয়নগর (1487—1507 A.D) is another farce. (3) হান্তার্ষ of জগদীশ্বর is another প্রহসন (4) কোতুকসর্ষধ of গোপীনাথ চক্রবর্তী, written for festival of the দুর্গাপূজা in Bengal

is another **প্রহসন**, (5) The **মূর্ছনটক** of **সামরাসনৌকিত** of the 17th century is another **প্রহসন** (1) **শূদারভূষণ** of **বামনভট্টাচার্য** (about 1500 A.D.) is a drama of the **ভাণ** type (2) **শূদারভিলাস** or **অদ্যাভাণ** of **রামভট্টাচার্য** written to rival the **বসন্তভিলাস** or **অদ্যাভাণ** of **বরদাচার্য** or **আমাল্য আচার্য**, the **Vishnavya** is a drama of the **ভাণ** type (3) **শাস্ত্রাভিলাস** of **Sankara** is another **ভাণ** (4) We find a type of mixed **ভাণ** in the **মুহুর্ত** of **কাশীপতি** **কবিরাজ** not earlier than 13th century

**Minor dramatic types** (1) The **পার্বণপ্রদর্শন** of **প্রহ্লাদনন্দ** is a **ব্যায়োগ** of the 12th century (2) **কিরাতাঙ্কনীয়** of **বংশরাজ** minister of **Paramardideva** of **Kalanjara**, is a **ব্যায়োগ** based on **ভারবী**'s epic (3) The **কপূরচরিত্র** is a **ভাণ** of the orthodox type (4) The **হাস্তকুড়ানলি** is a farce in 1000 acts (5) **লোগতিকাহরণ** of about 1316 A.D. is a **ব্যায়োগ** by **বিশ্বনাথ** dealing with **ভীমসেন**'s visit to **Kuvera** to fetch water lilies for **দ্রৌপদী**, his struggles with **হনুমান** and the **yakshas** and his final victory. The **Pandavas** meet at **Kubera**'s home and **Draupadi** obtains her desired flowers (6) The **দশবর্ষবিজয়** of **কাকনপতি**, son of **নারায়ণ** is a **ভাণ** dealing with the prowess of **Arjuna** in the defeat of **Duryodhana** and the **Kauravas** when they raid the cattle of **Virata**. The description of the contest in which **Arjuna** uses magic weapons given by **Indra** and a couple of his celestial entourage. The play ends with the giving to **Abhimanyu**, **Arjuna**'s son **Uttara** daughter of king **বিরট**, in marriage. Of the type of **দৈহাঙ্গ** we have **কৃষ্ণাঙ্গ** of **বংশরাজ** in 4 acts dealing with the success of **কৃষ্ণ** in depriving **শিউপাল** of **চন্ডি** of **কৃষ্ণাঙ্গ** his promised bride. Other dramas of this



type are the (1) the বীর বিজয় of কৃষ্ণনিশ and (2) নক্ষত্রিনোদ নাটক of কৃষ্ণ অবধূত ঘটিকাশতনামকবি. To বঙ্গরাজ is attributed a specimen of the ভিগ, the ত্রিপুরদাহ in 4 acts describing the destruction of the capital of ত্রিপুরাসুর by শিব বঙ্গরাজ is also responsible for a নগবকার, the মণ্ড-মহন in 3 acts. The অঙ্ক or one act play is often applied to denote a play within another play (otherwise called গর্তীক ), for example in the বাণবাগবত of রাজশেখর, the name প্রেক্ষণক is applied to such plays. The same name is also given to the উন্নতরাধ of ভাস্করকবি. The term প্রেক্ষণক is also applied to the কৃষ্ণভূদয় of লোকনাথ Bhatta, written for the raintime procession of the Lord of Hastigiri, Vishnu, in Kanchi. Of the উপকল্পক, we have দানকেনিকোমুদী, a ভাগিকা, by Rupagoswamin We have also the স্বভূ-হরণ of গাধব son of গণেশ্বর ভট্ট and ইন্দুপতী which is a ত্রিগদিত.

**Shadow play (ছায়ানটক) :** (1) ধর্মভূদয় of মেঘ-প্রভাচার্য is the first shadow play we have. In the stage direction it mentions clearly a puppet (পুত্ৰক) and calls itself a ছায়ানাট্যপ্রবন্ধ (2) The দূতদ of স্বভট is the second ছায়ানাটক. (3) ইবদিত, deals with the legend given in the দূতবাক্য of ভাস of the mission of কৃষ্ণ to the Kauravas to seek to attain peace.

**Dramas of irregular type :** (1) মহানাটক—Professor Ludus includes it in the list of ছায়ানাটক. It is a drama of the irregular type. According to the commentator গোহনদাস and the ভোজপ্রবন্ধ of Ballala, the play was put together by order of king Bhoja from fragments found on rocks which were fished out of the sea. The tradition was that হনুমান্ himself wrote the

work (wherefore it is also called *কুশাটক*) but to please saint Vilmiki the generous devotee permitted the saint to cast into the sea the drama which he had inscribed on the rocks. We have two recensions of the work in 9 or 10 acts by *কুশাটক* and in 14 acts by *দ্বাদশমুখ*. Its type may well be compared with that of the *Gita govinda* of *কৃষ্ণদাস* of the time of king *লক্ষ্মণ* of Bengal (12th century A.D.), which exhibits songs sung by Krishna, Radha and her companion intermingled with lyric stanzas of the devoted poet, describing their position or the emotions excited and addressing prayers to Krishna. The *Gita govinda* is a lyric poem capable of a quasi-dramatic presentment. It reveals a highly developed outcome of the Bengal *yatra*s of Krishna religion. In the *গোপালকল্যাণদ্রোণ* of Ramakrishna of Gujarat, later than the *কুশাটক* and the *ভাগবতমুদ্রা* we have an irregular drama whose form has excited a large number of conjectures including the inevitable but absurd solution of a shadow play.

**Summary of types of drama** (1) The highest of the ten main forms of drama (*রঙ্গক*) is the *নাটক* or heroic drama, the subject matter being drawn from tradition, not invented the hero being a king a royal sage or a god appearing in human form and the dominant sentiment (*রস*) to be the heroic (*বীর*) or the erotic (*শৃঙ্গার*), with all other sentiments as secondary the sentiment of wonder (*অদ্ভুতরস*) being well suited for the denouement which should be led up through the whole series of stages of the action.

and junctures. The end must be happy, tragedy being forbidden. The prose must be simple without elaborate compounds and verses sweet and clear and the number of acts from 5 to 10. If a play contains every kind of episode it is called, মহানাটক, if it has 10 acts (2) The bourgeois comedy, প্রবঙ্গ, is a social comedy of manners of a rank below royalty and in the main it follows the laws of construction of the নাটক. The subject-matter is to be framed at his pleasure by the playwright. This drama offers an appropriate place for slaves, বিটস, merchant chiefs and rogues of various kinds. The erotic sentiment (শৃঙ্গার) dominates here. The number of acts should be as in a নাটক and the name should be derived from the hero or heroine or both or the principal subject-matter. (3) সমবসার is a supernatural drama, the plot being taken from a tale of the gods and demons, the junctures (সন্ধি) being omitted and the expansion (বিস্তৃ) being the principal element of the plot. The number of heroes may reach 12, the heroic sentiment dominating each act exhibiting one type of cheating, tumultuous action and love অমৃতমহন and ভান's পঞ্চরাত্র are best dramas of this type (4) দৈবায়ুগ had its origin to the fact that in it a maiden as hard to attain as a gazelle is sought after (দৈহ). The subject matter is one partly from legend and partly from the poetic imagination, but it must avoid death of a great man. The hero (নায়ক) and his rival (প্রতিনায়ক) must both be of noble and haughty type, the latter doing wrong in error. মুখ, প্রতিমুখ, অবসর and নিব'হণ সন্ধিস (junctures)

are allowed It may have one act or four acts ( 5 )  
 ডিম—the subject is to be legendary with no mixture  
 heroes to be gods, demi gods and demons all of the  
 haughty type ( রৌদ্রমগ্নধন ), magic sorcery combats,  
 eclipses of the sun and the moon are in place Erotic  
 and comic sentiments are to be excluded that of fury  
 ( রৌদ্রম ) to be predominant Acts to be 4 without  
 প্রবেশক and বিহ্বলক The graceful manner is forbidden  
 ত্রিপুরদাহ and মন্থধোম্মথন are best specimens of this type  
 ( 6 ) ব্যাঙ্গ— is a military spectacle the subject  
 matter being legendary and the hero being a god  
 or royal sage It is in one act the action not extend-  
 ing over a day, filled with strife and battle and  
 মূখ প্রতিমূখ and নিবাহন মতি being allowed and the শূন্য  
 and হস্ত মস being barred ( 7 ) অঙ্ক or উৎকৃষ্টাঙ্ক is a  
 single act play whose longer style serves to descri-  
 minate it from an act of a normal drama The sub-  
 ject matter is taken from legend with development  
 of the poet মূখমতি and নিবাহনমতি being permitted  
 alone The hero to be human of the common folk  
 and the sentiment to be pathetic ( কদম শমিষ্ঠা ব্যক্তি  
 is a masterpiece of this type ( 8 ) প্রহসন or farce has  
 every sign of popular origin and vogue The plot is  
 the poet's invention and it deals with the tricks and  
 quarrels of low characters of every kind There is  
 but one act and only মূখমতি and নিবাহনমতি there  
 the predominating sentiment being হাস্য (comic) There  
 are three types of প্রহসন ( A ) the pure ( শুদ্ধ  
 প্রহসন ) is that in which heretics Brahmins men and  
 maidservants and parasites are represented in appro-

priate costume and language, (B) The fixed (বদ্ধিতপ্রহসন) represents eunuchs, chamberlains, and ascetics in the garb and with speech of lovers. (c) The mixed (মিশ্রপ্রহসন) contains the elements of the বাথী and is filled with rogues. The graceful and violent manners are excluded in all farces. (9) ভাণ or monologue has its subject-matter invented by the poet. There are only মুখমন্ধি and নির্বহণ মন্ধি in it. It is complete in one act. The elements of the বাস্য are specially in place. The শারদাতিলক and বীণামধুকর are specimens of this type. (10) বাথী or garland has a certain similarity to the Bhana as it includes frequent speeches in the air (আকাশভাবিত) and is in one act. But it is played by one or two actors or by three, one of each station in rank. The leading sentiment is the erotic (শৃঙ্গার), but others are hinted at. Only মুখমন্ধি and নির্বহণ-মন্ধি are allowed, but all the elements of the plot are present. The মালবিকা (certainly not মালবিকা গ্রামত of Kalidasa) is a specimen of this type. The first act of মালতীমাধব of Bhavabhuti is called বন্ধুবাথী, but it is in no sense even taken by itself an example of this type.

Types of উপরূপকস : উপরূপকস fall into 18 types :  
 (1) নাটিকা— with the hero a gay king and the intrigue consisting of his efforts to attain marriage with the heroine, an ingenue of a royal family, who by some accident or design has been introduced into the royal harem in an inferior capacity. The lovers have to strive against the jealousy of the queen, a lady of mature character and devotion to the king, who at

last is induced to sanction the nuptials with introduction of music song and dance as elements in the entertainment of court life Graceful manner with erotic sentiment is pre eminent and within 4 acts The নাটিকা has প্রাকৃত in abundance (2) প্রকরণিক or the little bourgeois comedy is precisely of the same character as the নাটিকা, save that its hero and heroine are generally of the merchant class (3) মটুক is a variant of the নাটিকা differing from it merely by being all in Prakrit and by having no introductory scenes of any kind and each of the acts being called ভাবনিকায়দর There is a dance of the মটুক type in abundance in it (4) The দ্রোটক is merely a variant of the নাটক with love between a human hero and a superhuman heroine (5) The গোষ্ঠী has 9 or 10 men and 5 or 6 women as actors (6) The ধোঁয়া is clearly a glorified dance (7) The নাট্যব্যঙ্গ is a ballet and pantomime (8) The প্রহসনক, in which hero and heroine are slaves is based on a mimetic dance (9 and 10) So also are the ভাবনিক or little ভাব and the কাব্য both being one act-pieces (11) The ব্রাহ্মক of the same general type, includes dialect in its language (12) The উল্লাসক may have one to three acts and its hero is of a high rank while battles form part of its subject, as they do also in the (13) মল্লিক which may have one to four acts (14) The দুর্ভাগিক, has four acts a hero of low rank and a precise time table of duration of acts (15) The বিলাসিক has one act but is interesting in that the hero has to support him not only the বিদূষ but also the parasite and a

friend ( পীঠবর্দ ), the sentiment erotic. (16) The শিল্পক is mysterious, for it has four acts, allows all the manners, has a Brahman as hero with a man of lower rank as secondary hero ( উপনাট্যক ), excludes the calm ( শান্ত ) and comic ( হাস্য ) sentiments and has 27 most miscellaneous constituents, if a pantomime, it was not amusing. (17) The প্রেক্ষণ or প্রেক্ষণক is a piece in one act with a hero of low birth, full of combats and hard words, it has no introductory scenes and both the নাদী (benediction) and the প্ররোচনা are performed behind the scenes (18) ত্রীগদিত is in a single act, the story legendary, the hero and heroine of high rank, the manner verbal, the word ত্রী is often mentioned or the goddess is presented seated and singing some verses The only play of that name is the স্বভদ্রাহরণ of নাদব before 1600 A D.

The নাটক remains the form of drama par excellence, a pre eminence due to its comparative freedom from narrow restrictions as well as to the submissive spirit of the dramatists. The প্রকরণ is essentially similar to the নাটক save in the social status of the hero and heroine The distinction between a প্রকরণ and a নাটক is far less important than the similarity. The farce and the monologue are confined to representations of the lower and courser side of life It is amazing that we find no serious effort to produce pure comedy in Sanskrit drama. The farce and the monologue may hover on the borders of that form; but they never attain it The conception of human activity striving with circumstances, endeavouring

to assert itself in the teeth of forces superhuman in power and uncontrollable and meeting with utter ruin but yet maintaining its honour, which affords the spring of tragedy in Greece is alien to Indian thought. Fate is nothing outside man, he is subject to no alien influences. He is what he has made himself by acts in past lives, if he suffers evil he has deserved it as just retribution and to sympathise with him to feel the pathos of his plight is really unthinkable. Death, therefore, by violence is merely a just punishment of crime and it is a more refined taste than that of Bhasa which bids us banish from the stage the spectacle of what is no more than an execution. A scene as ill suited to the decorum and good taste of the serious drama as to the rude merriment of the farce or the monologue.

**Greek and Indian theory of drama —**  
 The unity of action is fully recognised in the *আখ্যান* and the rule which insists that the events described in an act shall not exceed in duration a day has a certain similarity to the unity of time in Aristotle and is much more significant than such agreement as there is as to unity of place. The doctrine that the drama is an imitation (*অনুকৃতি*) does not differ from the doctrine of Mimesis but there is an essential distinction in what is imitated or represented in the *আখ্যান* it is a state or condition in Aristotle it is action. The importance of acting is common in both schemes but Aristotle makes little of the dance. Both stress the plot which the



আৰ্য্যনাট্যশাস্ত্ৰ recognises as the body of the drama Indian division of characters as high, middle and low has a certain parallelism to the Aristotelian distinctions of modes of depicting character as ideal, real and inferior. Saint Bharata, like Aristotle, shows appreciation of the distinction between male and female characters Both recognise the use of significant names and deal with the linguistic aspects of style Other suggestions of Greek influence may also be adduced, the monologue may be based on the Greek Mime and we have the actual mention in a passage of the আৰ্য্যনাট্যশাস্ত্ৰ of ববনস, while the description of the বিট suggests derivation from the Greek parasite. But it is impossible to take these pieces of evidence as conclusive proof of borrowing. There is similarity in both, no doubt, but there is also essential difference such as renders independent development of Indian doctrine at least as probable as borrowing In the Hindu drama there is no unity of time and place save what is described in an act. The Hindu stage was built in a form quite different from that of the Greek There is no chorus in Hindu-dramas, while বিকল্পক, প্রবেশক, প্রকরী &c are quite absent in Greek dramas The Indian drama affords more striking points of resemblance to productions of the Elizabethan play-wrights and in particular to Shakespeare The character of the বিদ্বৎ is a close parallel to the fool in Sakespeare Common to both are also several contrivances intended to further the action of the drama, such as the writing of letters, the

introduction of a play within a play, the restoration of the dead to life and the use of intoxication on the stage as a humorous device. The Indian dramatists portray individual character and not types of character. They are given to introducing romantic and fabulous elements, and often the supernatural.

**Character of Sanskrit drama** —(1) Absence of tragedy i.e. absence of tragic conclusion (2) interchange of lyrical stanzas with prose dialogue, (3) use of Sanskrit for some characters and of Prakrit for others (4) considerable skill in weaving of the incidents of the plot and in the portraiture of individual character, (5) want of fertility of invention—the plot being borrowed from tradition or epic legends and (6) want of unity of time and place.

**Arrangement of Sanskrit plays** :—(1) *प्रस्तावना* including *नाट्यो* *प्रस्तावना* *क* *वर्णितवृत्तम्* *प्रस्तावना* *क* *वर्ण* and the conclusion of the prologue (2) *वृत्तगति* (3) *प्रतिवृत्तगति* (4) *सङ्घ* (5) *अवसर्गगति*, and (6) *उपसर्गगति*. Intermediate scenes by *विद्वत्* *प्रवक्ता*, *हृत्कि* *अनावृत्त* &c. Acts in a play vary from 1 to 10, but they are determined by the character of the drama. Thus the *गच्छिका* has 4 acts *प्रहारा* (farce) only one while the *नाट्य* has from 5 to 10 acts.

**Kalidasa**. Like Shakespeare Kalidasa does not hesitate to repeat himself. We have in acts I and III of the *मद्रिका* pretty idea of the king in concealment hearing the confidential talk of the heroine and her friends. The same motif is found in act III of the *नागविक्रमिनि*.

Like উর্বশী, শকুন্তলা, when she leaves the king makes a pretext to delay her going, in the same way both express their love by letters. Snatching by a bird of the magic stone in the বিক্রমোর্বশী is paralleled by মাতলি's seizure of বিদূষক in act VI, আবু has a peacock to play with as the little ভবত a lion cub, but in each case the comparison is all to the good of the heroine.

শকুন্তলা in the Mahabharata: King Dushyanta arrives at the hermitage of sage Kanva in his absence. Sakuntala receives him and on his enquiry recounts to him her ancestry without bashfulness. He proposes marriage, she argues and on being satisfied of the legality of a secret matrimonial union, agrees on the understanding that her son shall be made heir apparent. The king goes home alone. In course of time Sakuntala is delivered of a son who grows up in the hermitage, until at the due season the mother, under the escort of hermits, takes him to court. The hermits leave her, but she is undaunted when the king out of policy refuses to recognise her and accept the child as his son. She threatens him with death and taunts him with her higher birth. Finally a divine voice bids the king consecrate the child, when he explains that his action was due solely in order to have it made plain that the child was the rightful prince.

Kalidasa's improvement on the original plot: Sakuntala of the drama is a shy girl who would not dream of telling her birth, her maidens even are-

too modest to do more than hint and leave the experienced king to guess the rest. Sakuntala's dawn ing love is depicted with perfect skill. her marriage and its sequel are alluded to with delicate touches. The king's absurd conduct is explained—a curse produces it and for that curse Sakuntala was not without responsibility for she allowed her love to make her forgetful of the essential duty of hospitality and reverence to the guest who was a saint. Before the king she utters no threat but behaves with perfect dignity stunned as she is by his repudiation of their love. The king is a worthy hero whose devotion to his public duties and heroism are insisted on and who deserves by reason of his unselfishness to be reunited with his wife. His love for his son is charmingly depicted and accepting the validity of the curse his conduct is irreproachable. It is not that he despises the lovely maiden that he repulses her but as a pattern of virtue and morality he cannot accept as his wife one of whom he knows nothing specially when she is in the family way. Sakuntala's own love for him is purified by her suffering and when she is finally united to him she is no longer a mere loving girl but one who has suffered tribulation of spirit and gained in depth and beauty of nature. Saint ऋषि is a delightful figure the celibate ascetic without child who lavishes on his adopted daughter all the wealth of his deep affection and who sends her to her husband with words of tender advice. He is brilliantly contrasted with the fierce pride and anger of दुर्वासस who curses शकुन्तला for her fault (blind of the truth—to err is human and to forgive is divine) and the solemn majesty of शरीर who though married has abandoned all earthly thoughts and enjoys the happiness of release while yet contemplating the affairs of the world and intervening to set them in order with purely disinterested zeal. The supernatural (in excess in the विक्रमोद्गीत) is reduced

to modest dimensions and intervenes hardly at all in the play, until we come to the last act, where the theory permits and even demands that the marvellous should be introduced and the celestial hermitage is a fit place for the reunion of two lovers severed by so hard a fate. The episode of the ring whose loss prevents the immediate recognition of the heroine is effectively conceived and woven into the plot. Kalidasa excels in depicting the emotions of love, from the first suggestion in an innocent mind to perfection of passion. He is hardly less expert in pathos. Act IV. of the *Sakuntala* is a model of tender sorrow and loving kindness with which even the trees take farewell of their beloved one contrasts with the immediate hard reception which awaits her at the royal court.

Megasthenes about India: About 322 B. C. Chandragupta came to the throne. In B.C. 302 Megasthenes came as the ambassador of Seleucus Nikator to Chandragupta's court and stayed there for many years. Of his account of India (*The Indica*) only fragments have been preserved. From his account we learn that "women followed the king when he was going out to hunt," that "armed women accompanied him on war chariots or horses or elephants both on his hunting expeditions and into battle" and that any body approaching the women was killed. He says emphatically that there was no slavery in India. But both the *पुनर्विजय* and the *अर्थशास्त्र* speak of different classes of male and female slaves. Megasthenes says that the agriculturists who were the majority of the population never took part in war or in other public services, but their land was never devastated in war. The Indians had a navy with an admiral who had five officials under him.

